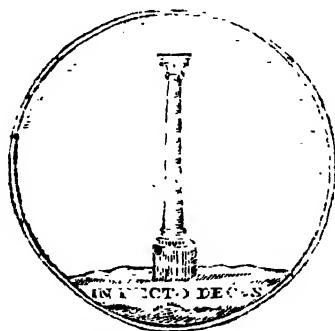


THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXXVI.



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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

History of the TUSCAN STATES.

S E C T I.

Containing a Description of Tuscany, including Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, Sienna, Stato de gli Presidii, Patrimony of the Church, Lucca, and the twelve ancient Tuscan Cities.

THE grand duchy of *Tuscany*, as it is now called, *Description* excepting a few detached pieces lying in the ter- of *Tu-*ritories of *Modena*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*, extends cany.
from North to South about one hundred and sixteen miles, "and about eighty from East to West. It is bounded by the *Mediterranean*, or *Tuscan Sea*; by the ecclesiastical state; by the duchy of *Modena*, and the country which "anciently formed the exarchate of *Ravenna*; and it naturally abounds with grain, lemons, oranges, all other fruits, oil, and wine of an excellent kind. The face of the country is beautifully variegated by hills and dales, and the soil so rich and fertile, that it requires but little culture. It must however be admitted, that many places in *Tuscany* are altered for the worse, since the decadence of the *Roman*
MOD. HIST. VOL. XXXVI. B empire.

empire. Its populousness made it then the natural glory of Italy, but being depopulated by the irruptions of barbarians, the want of cultivation has rendered some of the low-lying places, particularly about *Pisa*, *Volterra*, *Chiusi*, and *Massa*, unhealthy.

TUSCANY abounds in mines and minerals; but skill is wanting to work them in some places, particularly at *Volterra*. Its salt-works, however, are in good order; and alabaster, sulphur, and chalcedony are found in many places^a. *Massa* produces *lapis lazuli* and borax: amethysts are found at *Pianvino*: jaspers at *Barga*: black flint, iron ore, excellent marble, and cornelians, at *Stazzano* and *Peretola*. Quick-silver is found in the neighbourhood of *Sveghani*; and even mines of silver have been discovered near *Galena*. Other places of this delightful country produce allum, manna, and honey, all excellent in their kinds. The hot springs of *Tuscany* were choaked up by the barbarians. The famous countess *Matilda* in 1113, repaired and made use of them; but the succeeding ages of barbarism again choaked them, till about twenty years ago they were discovered at the foot of mount *St. Giuliano*, not far from *Pisa*, and being again rebuilt, they are at this time vastly frequented for their medicinal virtue. Other places of *Tuscany* are famous on the same account; but each spring differs from another in its quality, appearance, and degrees of heat or cold. The same may be said of the baths, many of which in *Tuscany* are esteemed of singular efficacy in the cure of diseases.

THE *Arno* is the principal river in this country. It receives into it the *Sieva*, the *Pesa*, and the *Elba*, and falls into the sea a little below *Pisa*. The source and course of the *Ombione* is through the *Sinnsese*.

Power and revenue of the great duke. **THOUGH** the modern *Tuscany* does not comprehend the whole of the ancient *Etruria*, yet its great duke is a sovereign prince, and a powerful one too, especially in *Italy*. He is grand-master of the order of *St. Stephen*, the privileges of which somewhat resemble those of *Malta*: his ordinary income amounts to about three millions of piastres a year. His militia is regimented; his standing army consists of two regiments of dragoons, and three regiments of foot; but, upon occasions, it is said that he can bring into the field thirty thousand men, and fit out twenty ships of war, besides galleys and galleasses. The whole duchy is now governed

^a English Translation of *BUSCHING's* Geography, vol. iii. pag. 118.

by a regency, at the head of which is a governor, who resides at *Florence*, and lives with great magnificence. It is certain, that during the present war in *Germany* the great duke has drawn considerable supplies of men from his *Tuscan* dominions, and they are reckoned inferior to few of the *German* troops.

A. D.
1762.

THE chief district of *Tuscany* is that of *Florence*, where the excellent genius of the inhabitants for agriculture, notwithstanding the disadvantages they lie under in point of government and liberty, has rendered their country almost a garden. *Florence* itself, the capital of *Tuscany*, is delightfully situated in the midst of fertile well cultivated hills and vallies, and divided by the *Arno*, which has there over it four stone bridges, into two unequal parts. The streets are paved with very broad stones, that look like fragments of polished rocks, so that they are generally clean: many of them, however, are crooked, and so narrow as not to afford room for a carriage to pass. The cities of *Rome*, *Genoa*, and *Turin*, excel *Florence* in the number and splendid appearance of their palaces, the beauty of those of *Florence* being greatly diminished by the paper windows which are every where in use. *Florence* is said to contain seventeen market-places, seven fountains, six columns, two pyramids, one hundred and sixty public statues, forty-four parish churches, thirty-seven hospitals and charitable foundations, twelve priories, fifty-four convents, and twenty-four ecclesiastical fraternities. The number of the houses is computed to be nine thousand, and that of the inhabitants seventy thousand. The present trade of *Florence*, besides the produce of the ground, lies in its manufactures of woollen and silk stuffs, which are carried on by the principal citizens, even the nobility here not disdaining to be traders, and sometimes shopkeepers. The *Florentines* boast greatly of their *Accademia della Crusca*; a society of learned men, instituted for purifying their language, as metals are purified by the crucible. In the year 1753, an academy of agriculture, consisting of one hundred persons, was instituted at *Florence*, and owed its original to the abbot *Ubaldo Montelati*.

THE city of *Florence* itself, next to *Rome*, is, with regard to antiquities and curiosities, the best worthy of a stranger's visiting of any in *Italy*. Its archiepiscopal cathedral is said to be half as large again as *St. Paul's* at *London*; and some of its palaces yield to none in *Italy*. Several of its churches and public buildings are likewise extremely magnificent. The chapel of *San Lorenzo*, though it makes no great appearance on the outside, will, if ever it is finished in the manner

it has been begun, be by far the finest in the world. Its works were carried on without interruption from 1604 to the death of the last great duke of the house of *Medici* in 1737. But it is not our purpose to dwell on the particulars of this and the other celebrated structures in *Florence*. It would however be unpardonable to omit mentioning the old ducal palace, which contains the greatest and finest collection made by one family, and within one room, in the world, of ancient and modern sculpture, paintings, and curiosities of every kind, both natural and artificial. In an octagonal room of this palace stands the celebrated statue of *Venus*, called by way of excellency the *Venus of Medici*, of ancient Greek sculpture, with many others of equal merit. This palace contains likewise in it an immense quantity of plate and jewels, ancient and modern; and *Florence* is celebrated for several excellent libraries.

Pisa.

THE territory of *Pisa*, the next *Tuscan* state, affords all the comforts of life. Its cattle and vegetables are very fine, and it produces plenty of corn and wine. The city of *Pisa*, like *Florence*, is divided by the *Arno* into two parts; but tho' very spacious and extensive, it does not contain at present above sixteen or seventeen thousand inhabitants, though formerly they were computed at one hundred and fifty thousand. *Pisans*, when free, were a commercial people, and extremely tenacious of their liberties. The form of their government was republican; and the wars between them and the *Florentines*, who at last subdued them, were long and bloody. The conveniency of their situation and harbour for the several powers who had claims or territories in *Italy*, was the reason why, after they had lost their independency as a people, they never could recover it; and with their independency their importance dwindled. Their neighbourhood to *Leghorn*, which is now the chief port in the *Mediterranean*, tho' formerly of little or no note for trade, has likewise contributed greatly to the decay of *Pisa*, which is now remarkable for little more than the shells of its ancient magnificent buildings, it being the place where the galleys are built, and the residence of the knights of *St. Stephen*. Between *Florence* and *Leghorn* is a canal sixteen Italian miles in length.

Leghorn.

LEGHORN, or *Livorno*, lies within the ancient district of *Pisa*. It stands in a marshy country, which, with the assistance of canals cut at a vast expence, is now cultivated, though the air is unwholesome, and water scarce. The city is well fortified, and contains forty thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Jews, who, notwithstanding the heavy taxes they pay, are rich, and carry on a vast trade. *Leghorn* is a free

free port, and to this freedom the greatness of its commerce is owing. It has two harbours, the outward and the inward: the latter contains the duke's galleys, and the other trading ships; but ships of great burthen must lie out, or the mole which forms the harbour, moored to pillars and large iron rings. The light-house of *Leghorn* contains thirty lamps burning in one lanthorn, and standing on a single rock in the sea, is equally curious as useful. *Aqua* and *Vada* likewise lie within the district of *Pisa*; but their soil and air is so unwholesome, that they are very thinly inhabited.

THE district of *Sienna* is the third in *Tuscany*. The *Sienna*, *Sienna*, *nese*, like the other *Tuscan* states, were once free, and struggled hard for their liberties, but are now subject to the grand duke. The city of *Sienna* is pleasantly situated in a wholesome air, and of large circumference, though its inhabitants are not in number above seventeen thousand. They are however noted for their politeness and elegance, many of the *Tuscan* nobility chusing *Sienna* for their residence; and it is thought that the *Italian* tongue is spoken here in its greatest purity. It is an archiepiscopal see, and its *Gothic* cathedral is crusted within and without with marble. Its pavement is extremely curious, and well preserved; but the university, which was founded here by *Charles V.* is on the decay, though the Jesuits college contains a good number of students. The great dukes of *Tuscany* have indulged the inhabitants in retaining some forms of their republican constitution, though the spirit of it is abolished.

THE district of *Sienna* is large, and great part of it, especially that which is called the *Maremma di Sienna*, and which runs seventeen *Italian* miles along the sea-coast, is unhealthy and thinly inhabited. It contains however several bishoprics, and a considerable number of castles, forts, towns, and villages. *Monte Pulciano*, and *Monte Acino*, though both bishoprics, are small places, but famous for their wines.

THE *Stato de gli Presidii*, lying on or near to the sea-coast, consists of a chain of forts, and formerly belonged to the *Siennese*; but is now subject to the king of the *Two Sicilies*. The most considerable place it contains is *Orbitello*, which is strongly fortified, and has a good harbour. *Piombino*, which makes a figure in the following history, stands on a rock in the sea; but, though it has a citadel and a palace, it is now an inconsiderable place. *Porto Longone* is a small fortified port; and *Porto Ferrajo*, a fortification likewise, belongs to the great duke of *Tuscany*. The other fortified places in this district are *Talamone*, *Monte Argentaro*, *Porto Ercole*, *Monte*

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Filippo, and *Porto St. Stefano*. All which are mentioned in history, both ancient and modern.

THE churches patrimony, part if not all of which lies within the ancient *Etruria*, or *Tuscany*, is bounded on the North, by the *Venetian* territory; on the East by the *Adriatic*; on the South-east by the kingdom of *Naples*; on the South by the *Mediterranean*; and on the West by the grand duchy of *Tuscany* and the *Modenese*. Its extent from North to South is about two hundred and forty miles. Its greatest from South-west to North-east is one hundred and twenty English miles, and its smallest about twenty.

St. Peter's patrimony. A DESCRIPTION of the papal dominions, a small part of which is considered as belonging to the modern *Tuscany*, does not come within our present design. It is sufficient to say, that the state of the church is naturally one of the richest and most powerful in *Italy*, and the revenues would be immense, were it not for the oppressions of its government, which appropriates the labour of the poor inhabitants to itself; so that nothing but idleness and wretchedness, excepting among the *Bolognese*, who still retain some of their ancient privileges, is to be seen through the whole. The cause of this misery is, that the popes, who at the time of their election are advanced in years, generally give their dominions up to be preyed on by their rapacious needy relations, who, considering the short remainder of their kinsman's reign, make the most of them.

Lucca. *LUCCA* is the only state in *Tuscany* that can be said to have preserved, or rather recovered, its liberties; and the blessings of freedom are discernable all over the republic. Though no more than thirty *Italian* miles in circumference, it contains, besides the city of *Lucca*, one hundred and fifty villages. The number of inhabitants are computed at one hundred and twenty thousand, and the soil is improved to the utmost. This little territory is bounded towards the South-west by the *Tuscan Sea*; and on the land side it is in a manner inclosed, all but a small tongue that stretches to *Modena*, by the grand duchy of *Tuscany*.

THE government of the republic is lodged in a gonfalonier, whose power is much the same with that of the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*. He is assisted by nine counsellors; but the power of all the ten continues but for two months, during which time they live in the state palace, and at the public expence. They are chosen out of the great council, which consists of two hundred and forty nobles; but even this council is changed by a new election every two years.

The

The History of the Tuscian States.

The revenues of the republic are about four hundred thousand scudi or crowns; out of which they maintain five hundred men by way of regular force, and seventy Swiss, as a guard to their acting magistrates.

THE situation of the city of *Lucca* is in a plain, terminating its most delightful eminences, adorned with villas, summer-houses, corn-fields, and plantations of every kind; so that nothing either for use or pleasure is here wanting.

The city, which is three *Italian* miles in circumference, has regular well-lined fortifications; and its streets, though irregular, are wide, well paved, and full of handsome houses. The number of its inhabitants are computed to be above forty thousand; and they carry on large manufactures, chiefly of silk stuffs. *Lucca* has a bishop, who enjoys several extraordinary privileges and its cathedral is *Gothic*.

TUSCANY was formerly famous for its twelve cities; the ~~ancient~~ ^{The twelve} names of which were *Veii*, *Volturni*, *Clusium*, *Perusia*, *cities of Crotona*, *Aretium*, *Faliskii*, *Volaterræ*, *Vetulonii*, *Russellæ*, *Tarquinii*, and *Cære*^b. The modern names are *Bolsena*, *Chiusi*, *Tuscani*, *Perugia*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Civita Castellana*, *Volterra*, *Cerveteri*. The ancient *Veii* is thought to be the modern *Scrofano*, lying within twelve miles of *Rome*. *Vetulo* lay near *Piombino*, and the place on which it stood is now called *Bagni di Roselle*; and the *Tarquinii* is supposed to be the modern *Cornetto*; but of the ~~ancient~~ last places no vestiges remain.

SEVERAL of those towns maintained their liberties and independency for a long time after the reign of *Charles the Great*, and still make a figure in history. The territory of *Perugia* contains the lake of *Thrasymene* (now called the lake of *Perugia*) famous in ancient history for the defeat of the *Romans* by *Hannibal* near its borders. *Perugia* at present contains three churches, which are worth seeing, three colleges, an university founded almost five hundred years ago, and two academies for the fine arts. Several people of quality reside in *Perugia*; and its ancient territory, before it fell under the dominion of the church, was not inconsiderable.

CORTONA, or as some call it *Crotona*, lies in the territory of *Florence*; and, though formerly of great importance to that people, who deprived it of its independency, though not of all its privileges, is now remarkable for little else than being the seat of a bishop immediately subject to the pope, and for the literary meetings of its inhabitants, which are called *noctes Conyaneæ*, or, *Cortonean* entertainments.

^b CLUVER. Introd. ad Geograph. pag. 137.

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AREZZO now belongs to *Florence*, and is frequently mentioned in the following history for the noble struggle its inhabitants made in defence of their liberties, and for their generous attachment to the *Florentines*, as long as the terms on which they submitted to that state were observed. It is likewise a bishop's see, and is situated on a declivity, surrounded by a lovely fertile valley: but both its churches and houses are now gone to decay, though it still preserves some remains of ancient grandeur.

CIVITA CASTELLANA, the capital of the ancient *Falisci*, is now a small mean looking town, in *St. Peter's* patrimony, situated on a high steep bank near the confluence of the rivers *Triglia* and *Tevere*. It contains many marks of antiquity. Its bishopric is joined to that of *Orta*, and a stupendous bridge is built from the city to an opposite mountain.

VOLTERRA lies in the territory of *Pisa*, and though standing on a mountain its air is wholesome. It is said to contain twenty-five churches, chapels, and oratories, and about twenty convents and religious fraternities, and yet upon the whole it is a poor desert looking place. It is likewise a bishopric, and contains copper mines, which are not worked.

CERVETERI, likewise lies in *St. Peter's* patrimony, and is a place now so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely mentioned in the maps. Some authors are of opinion that *Orta* was one of the ancient *Tuscan* cities, and that it ought to stand in the room of *Veii*.

THE HISTORY of FLORENCE.

SECT. II.

Containing the History of Florence at the time of the Decadence of the Roman Empire; the Character of the Florentines, and the other Tuscan States; and the Revolution of the Florentine Government to the Year 1277.

THE *Etrurians*, or *Tuscans*, of whose country *Florence* Observation is now the capital, were the parents of the *Roman* religion, learning, and policy; and that city, with its territory, ever since the revival of literature in *Europe*, has been so distinguished in arts, in sciences, and at certain periods in arms, that old *Rome* cannot be said to have owed more to the *Etrurians*, than modern *Europe* does to the *Florentines*.

THE ancient history of *Florence* is blended with that of *Rome*, nor know we of any author who has treated of it separately. We shall therefore commence this history from the year 408, when the *Florentines* instituted a festival-day in commemoration of the great overthrow given by *Sallicho*, the general of the emperor *Honorius*, to the *Goths* in the *Fesulane* at *Florence*, and which delivered that city from those barbarians. The barbarians, however, again gathering head, about the year 414, *Florence* and its territory were again depopulated, and for some years after the *Florentines* bore their share in that general devastation which overspread all *Italy*; nor is the reader, in such indiscriminate scenes of ruin, to expect any particular history of this country. All we know is, that *Alaric*, the *Gothic* king or general, led a fresh body of those barbarians into *Italy*, and the emperor *Honorius* gave his consent that they should pass in a friendly manner to the confines of *Gaul*. The barbarians appear to have been Christians; for the imperial generals treacherously took advantage of their high veneration for *Easter-Sunday* to attack them on that day, which the *Goths* thought ought to be sacred from blood, and suffered themselves at first to be cut in pieces, rather than fight. At last, roused by the impiety of the Imperialists, they fell upon them with such fury, that they gained

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a complete victory; and, instead of continuing their march towards *Gaul*, they took possession of *Tuscany*. *Stilicho* was sent against them; but, having himself an eye to the empire, he protracted the war, without driving the barbarians from their new habitations. That great general being taken off, through the jealousy of *Honorius*, the *Goths* spread themselves all over *Italy*, and plundered *Rome* itself. Upon the death of *Alaric*, they chose *Athaulphus*, his kinsman, for their leader, and having again plundered *Rome*, and ravaged *Tuscany*, they broke into *Gaul*. *Athaulphus* then married *Placidia*, the daughter of the emperor *Theodosius*, and sister of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, whom the *Goths* in their first irruption into *Rome* had led away captive. On the death of *Athaulphus*, she was married to *Constantius*, by whom she had *Valestinian*, who succeeded to the *Roman* empire after the death of the emperor *Honorius*.

Succession
of the bar-
barian
kings.

Irruption of the Hunns under Attila; THE next irruption of the barbarian into *Italy* was more dreadful than all the preceding ones. They were com-
manded by the two brothers, *Attila* and *Bleda*; but the former having slain the latter, he became a great and powerful mon-
arch. That species of barbarians he headed were called

A. D. Hunns. Their original habitations were near the *Palus*

447. *Mæotis*; and their devastations were so inhuman and rapid, that *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Italy*, joined his forces with *Attila*, the emperor *Valentinian's* general. A battle suc-
ceeded, in which one hundred and sixty thousand men on
both sides are said to have been killed; amongst whom was

who, after
being de-
feated,
besieges
Aquileia,
and de-
stroys it:
His pro-
gress.

Irruption
of the Van-
dals, at
the He-
ruli.

in *Italy*. Having recruited his army from *Pannonia*, he laid
siege to *Aquileia*, and, after besieging it for three years, he
took and levelled it to the ground. He then made himself
master of *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Milan*, and a great number of
other cities; but was diverted by *Leo*, bishop of *Rome*, from
attacking that capital. Upon the death of *Attila*, the *Vandals*
broke into *Italy*, and renewed all the ravages of the *Goths* and
the *Hunns*, under their leader *Genferic*. *Odoacer* was the
fourth barbarian prince who made himself master of *Italy* at
the *Heruli*. The seat of the *Roman* empire was now at *Con-*
stantinople; and the emperor *Zeno* engaged *Theodoric*, king of
the *Goths* in *Italy*, to march against *Odoacer*, whom he de-
feated and killed at *Ravenna*, and thereby *Theodoric* became
king of *Italy*, which now suffered more than ever by the fury
of the barbarians. The chief scenes of their ravages being

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about *Florence* and in *Tuscany*, whose particular history is swallowed up in that of their barbarism; so that we know little of it till the time of the *Longobards* under their King *Alboine*. This prince made himself master of *Tuscany*, and almost all *Italy*. Having killed *Cunimund*, King of the *Scythes*, another of those barbarous nations that then ravaged all the continent of *Europe*, in single combat, he married *Rosmund*, *Cunimund's* beautiful daughter, and made a drinking-cup of her father's skull, out of which he forced his queen to drink. The queen dissatisfied her indignation; but applied for revenge to two officers. One of them had been affronted by the king, and she knew the other to be deeply in love with herself; and admitting them into the royal bed-chamber, they murdered *Alboine*, and made her escape to *Ravenna*. Death of Alboine.

A KIND of an anarchy succeeded amongst the barbarians in *Italy* for about ten years. Each head of a clan, or family, seized the city or principality that was most convenient for him; nor does it appear, in history, to what particular barbarian the government of *Tuscany* fell during that time. It is however certain, that the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were masters of *Italy*, *Rome* and its territory excepted, for two hundred and four years, till they were displaced by *Charles the Great*, who is said to have restored *Florence*, and *Tuscany* in general, to a respectable condition, after they had suffered conquered more than any country in *Italy* from the fury of the barbarians. Some writers have been of opinion, that, during the reign of barbarism in *Italy*, *Florence* was intirely levelled to the ground, and deserted by its inhabitants. The barbarians.

WE are not, however, to take for granted all the invectives published against those northern masters of *Italy*, who perhaps, in fact, were less barbarous than the *Italians* themselves; at least, they were much less so than *Charles the Great*, who conquered them. The remains of antiquity, still extant at *Florence*, prove that it never was utterly demolished; nor is there any likelihood of its being new-peopled. The legislation of the barbarians, as they are called, (the *Longobards* in particular) was the wisest and the most civilized of any other people, and tended rather to population than devastation. The ravages they were obliged to commit, proceeded not so much from their own dispositions as from the treachery, the folly, and ingratitude of the imperial court and officers. Though brave and warlike in the field, they knew little of the art of besieging; and the nobility and chief land-holders of *Tuscany* soon learned to immerse themselves, their families, and attendants in castles and fortifications, by which they were commonly safe during the ravages of war. The natural fertility General remark.

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tility of the country sufficed for their subsistence, while the barbarians were generally at war amongst themselves. No sooner, however, did those savages cease than the antient inhabitants resumed their former habitations; and it is more than probable, that all that Charles did for *Florence* and *Tuscany*, was his giving their former inhabitants a farther security, by repairing the fortifications of their cities.

Institutions of Charles About the year 773, Charles, or, as he is called, *Charles the Great*, having been crowned and confirmed king of *Italy* by the pope, the governments of the several states there began to recover some degree of consistency. The original families of *Italy*, and the descendants of the various clans of barbarians who had inhabited it, were now blended into one common mass; and the feudal laws, which were of Gothic original, and then prevailed all over *Italy*, gave the leading men or magistrates of each state a degree of authority very little subordinate to that of supreme. All that Charles required were certain tributes, or what we call *redendos*, as marks of his sovereignty; and he left them, in other respects, to make the best of their situation and natural powers. Of those states, the most eminent were *Pisa*, *Florence*, *Perugia*, and *Siena*, and each had a separate manner of cultivating its interest.

Character of the Florentines, Perugians, and the other Tuscan states. The *Pisans* applied themselves to maritime affairs, being the only maritime city in *Tuscany* that was left standing. The *Perugians* turned themselves to agriculture, to which they were encouraged by the fertility of their soil. The *Siennese* had a rich nobility, which maintained them in affluence: but the *Florentines* were distinguished over all the other inhabitants of *Tuscany* by industry, their knowledge of the civil arts, and their uncommon strength of genius. For some time those states lived in great harmony with each other; but that was soon interrupted by the disputes between the popes of *Rome* and the emperors of *Germany*. The empire, which was originally founded in *Germany* by Charles the Great, for the protection of the *Roman* pontificate, had almost proved its ruin; and ignorance and superstition, which daily gained ground after the establishment of that empire, both in *Italy* and elsewhere, did not leave an option for any state to be neutral, farther than as its intestine divisions prevented its being of much service to either party. Such was the condition of *Tuscany*, which in this quarrel, suffered perhaps more than she had done from the barbarians. The emperor, *Frederic II.* of *Germany*, put to death, by various tortures, many of the *Tuscan* nobility, who had taken part with the see of *Rome*; and they, in return, had their revenge upon his party.

FRE-

FREDERIC however prevailed, and at last brought the *who sub-*
Florentines into a state of subjection, by banishing that party *jects the*
of the nobility which opposed him. It is from his death that, *Floren-*
properly speaking, the history of *Florence* ought to commence. *times.*
The remembrance of his tyranny inspired the *Florentines* with
such an aversion to monarchical government, that from
thenceforth *Florence* became a republic. The people took *They erect*
the direction of affairs upon themselves, and the wisdom, *themselves*
spirit, and steadiness, with which they proceeded upon their *into an in-*
new model are almost incredible. They *are secured,* and *dependent*
reinstated in their former conditions, the nobility, *that Frederic*
had banished, and thereby more than balanced the interest
of their antagonists. They next made choice of twelve ma-
gistrates, who, on account of their pre-eminence, were called
Antiani. They divided their city into six wards, from which
were to be elected their magistrates, and all their public of-
ficers. They instituted a militia out of those wards, properly
regimented, which militia was to oppose any factious attempts
of their nobles at home, and to repel all attacks from abroad.
Florence now rose to be an independent government, and every
one of its magistrates was a patriot. Their first war was
with the *Pistoians*; who though they had been reduced, like
the *Florentines*, to a state of slavery by *FredERIC II.* yet still
continued their attachment to the *German* emperors. This
raised the jealousy of the *Florentines*, who looked upon the
Pistoians as the enemies of their liberty, so high, that, not- *Their war*
withstanding all the opposition the imperial faction made, *with the*
they invaded the territory of the *Pistoians*, and defeating their *Pistoians*
army, drove it within the walls of their city. The *Florentines*, *whom they*
returning victorious to their capital, chased from thence all the *subdue.*
remains of the imperial faction who had refused to serve in
the *Pistoian* war. Those exiles fled to *Sienna* and *Pisa*, and
excited the magistrates of those cities to a war with the *Flo-*
rentines, who soon after restored the party who had been
exiled from *Arezzo*, another city of *Tuscany*, for their opposi-
tion to *FredERIC*. After this they entered into an alliance
with four other states, some of whose names are little known
at this time, *Lucca*, *Miatenentia*, *Urbino*, and *Assum*, now
Pala. The consequences of this confederacy were, that the
Florentines, in the same year, brought two armies into the
field; the first against the *Middelli*, whom they defeated; and
the other against *Mantaria*, which last city they took in a
winter campaign, and levelled to the ground. That same
year they entered into an alliance with the *Genoese* against the
Pisans.

^b LEONARDI ARETINI, Hist. Flor. p. 19.

their farther
successes.

NEXT year they wasted the lands of their enemies about *Pavia*, and took the place by the help of warlike engines. While the *Florentines* were besieging *Pavia*, their allies of *Lucca* were defeated by the *Pisans*, who were returning home with a vast number of captives. When the *Florentines* heard of the defeat of the *Lucqueses*, they instantly resolved to rescue their confederates; and a strong detachment from their army was sent for that purpose, which overtook the *Pisans* near the river *Arno*. A bloody battle ensued, in which the *Florentines* were victorious, and filled with *Pisans* the fetters in which the *Lucqueses* had been dragged before. After this, the *Florentine* nobles, who had been exiled, chose *Guido Novello* for their head, and marched against *Florence* as far as *Figghini*. Being opposed by the *Florentines*, the nobles made themselves masters of *Figghini*, which the *Florentines* besieged. A treaty was then proposed and concluded, by which the nobles were re-admitted to the city; but *Figghini* was demolished, and its inhabitants were incorporated with the citizens of *Florence*.

They defeat
the Siennese,

THIS expedition being thus gloriously finished by the *Florentines*, before they returned home they marched to the deliverance of their confederates the *Palanqueses*, who were then reduced to great distress by the *Siennese*, who were defeated in a bloody battle by the *Florentines*. So many great successes in one campaign, gave vast spirit to the citizens of *Florence*; and next year they obliged the *Pistoians* to sue for peace, and to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance against all the enemies of *Florence*, and likewise to recall to their city all who had been exiled from it on account of their aversion to the German emperor. Next year the *Florentines* undertook an important expedition against the *Siennese*, who were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them on condition of their never again entering into war with *Alsium*, and of their never sheltering or favouring the enemies of *Florence*. The *Florentines*, after that, marched against *Bonetium*, which they instantly reduced. They then marched against *Volterra*. Their quarrel with the *Volterrans* was on account of their taking part with the *Pisans*, and the other enemies of *Florence*. The art of war was then very imperfect in Italy; and the *Florentines*, in a kind of bravado, advanced their standards to the foot of the lofty eminence on which *Volterra* is situated; upon which the *Volterrans* made a tumultuous sally, without any head to conduct them. At first they were victorious; but the *Florentines* recovering from their consternation, drove their enemies back into their city, which they entered along with

and take
Volterra.

the fugitives. All fighting was then at an end: the women and clergy threw themselves at the feet of the conquerors, who generously stopt all hostilities, and contented themselves with obliging some of the factious noblemen to leave the city, whose government from then became republican. This expedition was begun and finished in a few days. The *Florentine* army then marched against the *Pisans*, who were so terrified by its successes, that they shut themselves up in their capital, and sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace, which they obtained, but upon hard terms, and they were obliged to give hostages for the performance. The *Florentines* soon returned triumphantly home; and the same year, which they called the year of victories, they erected in their city a magnificent town house, and other noble edifices, for the administration of public justice, which till then had been confined to the houses of their several magistrates.

NEXT year, at the request of the people of *Urbino*, the *Good fair* *Florentines* sent a body of five hundred horse to their assistance. These, in their march, halted at *Arezzo*, where the *Gibelins*, or imperial faction, possessed the government; but no sooner did the *Florentine* horse arrive there than the *Guelphs*, or the papal faction, which the *Florentines* favoured, ran to arms, and drove the *Gibelins* out of the city. The news of this coming to *Florence*, the government there thought that their general *Guido*, surnamed *Guerra*, or the Warlike, had exceeded his commission, by committing hostilities in a city with which they were at peace; and they immediately sent an army, which obliged the *Guelph* faction at *Arezzo* to re-admit the expelled *Gibelins*. This delicacy of the *Florentines* in observing good faith, effected a reconciliation between them and *Arezzo*. *Florence*; and a truce was concluded between the two people for five years, during three of which the *Arezzians* obliged themselves to chuse a *Florentine* for their chief magistrate, who always was a foreigner. The same year the *Florentines* League made a league with the *Siennese*, by which it was agreed, that neither people should harbour the rebels of the other; but be obliged to expel them, upon requisition: and thus the affairs of the *Florentines* seemed to be in a tranquil situation.

THEY did not, however, long continue so. The emperor *Frederic* left two sons, *Conrade* and *Manfred*; the first *Conrade* legitimate, the latter illegitimate. But *Manfred*, notwithstanding the disadvantage of his birth, possessed so many natural endowments, that his father at his death left him the

*Death of
Conrade.*

principality of *Taranto*, about the year 1253; while his legitimate brother *Conrade*, having been crowned king of the *Romans*, assumed the imperial dignity, and marched from *Germany* to take possession of his *Italian* dominions. By the papal intrigues and power, *Innocent IV.* then being pope, he was kept out of the possession of *Naples* and *Capua*; and while he was endeavouring to reduce them to his obedience he died, as is said, by poison administered to him by *Manfred*, on the twenty-second of *May*, 1254, leaving only one son, called *Conradin*, who was then in *Germany*, under the tuition of his mother *Elizabeth of Bavaria*. While *Conrade* was on his death-bed, he had committed the care of his son and his concerns into the hands of his wife and her relations. *Manfred*, who was a very ambitious prince, resenting this, struck in with the Holy See; and, stripping young *Conradin's* guardians of all their authority in *Italy*, he usurped the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; but pretended he held them only till young *Conradin* should be of age. Soon after this, *Manfred*, having gained his ends, brogue with pope *Innocent*, who died not long after, and was succeeded by *Alexander IV.* in the year 1255. Both parties prepared for war, and both were powerfully supported; but cardinal *Ottavian*, the papal general, being of the house of *T'aldi*, was thought to have favoured *Manfred* so much, that the pope intirely lost the kingdom of *Naples*.

*The Pisans
break their
league
with the
Florentines.*

THIS success of the *Gibelines* so greatly elevated the *Pisans*, that they broke their lately contracted league with the *Florentines*, and, invading their territories, they committed vast devastations. Upon this the *Florentines* and the *Lucchese* joined their forces, and gave the *Pisans* a total defeat upon the banks of the *Arno*; no fewer than three thousand *Pisans* being made prisoners. The consequence of the victory was, that the victors marched to the very gates of *Pisa*, and forcing the *Pisans* into a shameful peace, obliged them to deliver up the town of *Matrona*, with a large compass of the sea-coast; to give the *Florentines* the freedom of their city; and to make use of *Florentine* weights and measure. Notwithstanding those successes, *Manfred* daily gained such ground, that the *Florentines* thought proper, all of a sudden, to make themselves masters of *Boneti*, and partly to dismantle it; while the people of *Arezzo* did the same by *Cortona*.

*Manfred
gains
ground.*

In the mean while, the nobility of the *Gibelin* faction, within *Florence*, took advantage of the absence of their army, and began to enter into cabals for restoring themselves to all their former power. The *Florentine* magistrates in vain admonished them both of their duty and their danger; for the mal-

malcontents disclaimed their authority, and kept themselves shut up in their houses. The family of the *Uberti* were, at this time, at the head of the *Florentine Ghibelins*; and the people, or rather the republican party, resented their contumacy so much, that they ran to arms, broke into the palace of the *Uberti*, and, after killing some, forced all the *Ghibelins* to take refuge in *Sienna*, where they found shelter. This was a direct violation of the league between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*, which had been concluded three years before; and the *Florentines* sent two emissaries, *Abbe Trincivello* and *Giacomo Gerardi*, to complain of their breach of faith. The *Florentine Ghibelins*, however, had made so strong a party in *Sienna*, and the dread of *Manfred's* power was there so great, that the ambassadors could obtain no satisfaction. Upon which the *Florentines* declared war against them.

THE *Florentine* exiles, dreading the consequence of this declaration, sent a nobleman of the *Uberti* family, one *Farinata*, and several other persons of consideration, to implore *Manfred's* protection and assistance. Those ambassadors, being admitted into that prince's presence, made him a most pathetic speech, which *Manfred* seemed to attend to; but all they could obtain was a single squadron of German horse, whom they were to carry with them to *Sienna*. His coldness, at a juncture so promising to his interest, is imputed to his apprehension that the *Siennese* and the *Florentine* exiles were less in his interest than in that of his nephew *Conradin*. The assistance he proposed was so little proportioned to the exigency, that the deputies at first were for declining it; but *Farinata* was of a contrary opinion: "Let *Manfred*, said he, give us the squadron, and we shall soon manage not only for, but if he has within him one spark of royalty, he will send their greater reinforcements." This magnanimity brought the deputies over to *Farinata's* sentiments. They waited upon *Manfred*, and, with great expressions of joy in their countenances, they gave him thanks, and accepted of the proffered aid.

While this deputation was in dependence, the *Florentines* had actually entered the territories of *Sienna*, and over-ran the whole country to the very gates of that capital, which they blocked up. The deputies, returning with their German squadron, resolved at once to attack the *Florentine* army; but the attempt carried with it so desperate an appearance, that they thought proper to prepare the *Germans* by plying them with liquor for the whole night before the intended attack, which was made with so much fury next morning, that

the *Florentines* were thrown into disorder; and a total rout must have ensued, had not their commanders rallied them, and shewn them, that the small handful of *Germans* were unsupported by other troops. Upon this the *Florentines* took courage, drove the *Siennese*, who had made a sally, back to their city, and, cutting in pieces every one of the *Germans*, they treated *Manfred's* standard, which they took, with particular ignominy. It appears, however, that they made no farther attempt upon *Sienna*, but returned home in a few days, though ~~the~~ *Sienna* was but half gone.

Effect of Manfred's death. AS *Faustina* had foreseen, the above^d loss and disgrace enraged *Manfred* so much, that, upon a fresh application made to him by the *Florentine* exiles, he ordered one of his generals, *Jordano*, to put himself at the head of fifteen hundred of his best cavalry, to march to the assistance of the *Siennese* and the *Gibelins* of *Florence*. This seasonable reinforcement gave fresh spirit to that cause, and a kind of an universal league was formed to support it. For no sooner did the *German* auxiliaries arrive upon the *Siennese* territories, their time of absence being limited only to three months, than the people of *Pisa*, and of several neighbouring cities, declared for the *Gibelin* party, and a general rendezvous of the confederate troops was held at *Sienna*; from whence they prepared to proceed to besiege *Alino*, a town allied with *Florence*, but with all the *Siennese* territories intervening. This resolution being published, put the *Florentines* under great difficulties, not daring to carry their troops to such a distance from their city against so powerful a confederacy. Treachery is said to have mingled in their deliberations. The gravest and most experienced of their nobility and military officers were against marching their army; but their magistrates and common people being of another opinion, the nobility resolved to go in a body to lay their sense of the situation of the public before their magistrates, and they chose *Uglieri Adomar* for their spokesman. *Aretino*, the *Florentine* historian, has recorded an excellent speech which *Uglieri* made on this occasion against their marching, founded upon the short time the *German* auxiliaries were to be in the field, and upon the expediency of guarding their own city, and at the same time harassing the territories of *Sienna* by incursions and inroads, which would oblige them to remain at home. All the answer he received was, that, if he was afraid to march, he might have his dismissal: and, to put an end to all farther debate, the magistrates, with the approbation of the people, imposed a fine upon all who should

Impetuosity
of the Flo-
rentines,

^d LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 26.

date to oppose the march of their troops. The only difficulty now remaining was, how to guard against the faction of the *Gibelin* party in the city, during the absence of the army; but at last it was resolved to force them to serve in the army. After this, the *Florentine* magistracy gave notice to their allies of *Lucca* and *Arezzo* to be in readiness to join them about four miles from the city of *Sienna*, which the *Florentines* flattered themselves would fall into their hands by an insurrection of the *Guelph* inhabitants, who disapproved of the war. *Jordano* and the *German* auxiliaries had not yet left *Sienna*; and ordering the gates to be shut, he remained for some time within the city, which confirmed the *Florentines* in their opinion that an insurrection would happen. But *Jordano* having disposed every thing for a furious attack, and ordering the gates to be thrown open, he advanced against the *Florentines* at the head of his *German* cavalry, and was followed by the *Siennese* and all the *Florentine* exiles. The *Florentines*, not expecting such an onset, were put into confusion; but their horse behaved so bravely, that the success of the battle was for some time doubtful, till the *Gibelin Florentines*, whom they forced along with them, declared for the enemy; and the *Florentine* cavalry, not even knowing how to trust one another, abandoned the foot. It was the custom in those days for *European* armies (the same prevailed in *England*) to carry along with them a chariot, or rather a stage, most magnificently decorated, and in the middle was fixed their chief standard, which they considered as the palladium of their state. The *Florentine* foot, finding themselves abandoned by what are their cavalry, flocked round their standard, embraced it with total tears of affection, and performed miracles in its defence; but what all was to no effect. The disciplined *Germans* cut every man of them to pieces, to the number of three thousand, who fought round their standard, and made four thousand prisoners in other parts of the field, besides taking the camp, baggage, and equipages of the *Florentines*.

It is not to be wondered at what horror, grief, despair, and distraction, *Disasters* overspread *Florence* upon this news. It was then that the effect of popish blindness, inspired by success, eminently appeared. The great things the *Florentines* had done, were by *traces* the common people and their magistrates, who were chosen out of the common people, ascribed to their valour alone; and they looked upon the nobility, who were, in general, men of a liberal education, and of sentiments far above what were common in that age, as so many dead weights upon their state, and obstacles to their courage. They treated their grave remonstrances as so many pleadings for cowardice, and

their lesson upon civil and military conduct as attainable by the meanest capacity. In proportion to their presumption had been great in prosperity, their despondency was despicable under adversity; and, without consulting ought but their own fears, they abandoned the city: some of them, removing to *Lucca*, and others to *Bologna*, at both which places they were most hospitably received and entertained; and about the middle of *October*, 1160, the *Florentine* exiled nobility re-entered *Florence* without the least opposition. Their return put an end to the popular government of *Florence*, which had lasted for about ten years.

The Gibelins get possession of Florence.

FROM that time the *Florentines* changed their masters. *Guido Novello*, a *Gibelin* nobleman, was put at the head of their civil, and *Jordano* of their military affairs. Public justice was administered in *Manfred's* name. The inhabitants were obliged to swear allegiance to him, and the *German* soldiers were paid out of the *Florentine* treasury; while the houses, estates, and goods of all who had left the city, were confiscated or demolished. This revolution, however, was far from removing their apprehensions of the *Gibelin* party, who sent a fresh deputation to *Manfred*, intreating him to prolong the continuance of *Jordano* and his troops at *Florence*; but all they could obtain was a few months. While this passed, the city of *Arezzo* was miserably divided between the *Guelph* and the *Gibelin* factions; and, by *Manfred's* orders, a general congress of the heads of his party was convoked at *Empoli*. The subject of their deliberations was, in what manner *Manfred's* interest could be best strengthened in *Tuscany*; and the general opinion was, that *Florence* ought to be demolished to the ground. *Farinata*, whom we have mentioned above, was the only member who had the courage to oppose this barbarous resolution. The speech he made on this weighty occasion was full of dignity and resolution, and coming from a person of his exalted character and known courage, startled the assembly so much, that *Florence* was preserved; and *Jordano* being recalled, the whole power of the state, civil and military, was committed to *Novello*, who, besides the ordinary troops kept up by the *Florentines*, had under his command a thousand mercenary horsemen. The first use *Novello* made of his power was to attack the territories of the *Lucchese*, for having received the *Florentine* fugitives. Having destroyed the plain country, and taken some castles, he laid siege to *Lucca*; but that city was well provided for a defence, and the *Florentine* fugitives within it behaved

with so great valour, that, the rainy weather coming on, he was obliged to raise the siege, and return to Florence.

His retreat gave the *Lucquese* and the *Florentine* fugitives ^{who apply} time to deliberate; and they resolved to implore the protec- to Con-
tion of young *Conradin*, who remained still in Germany, un- din, grand-
der his mother's protection. Two *Florentine* knights, *Simon* son to Fre-
Donati and *Bonacursio Adimar*, were intrusted with this em- deric II.
bassy; and when they arrived at *Conradin's* court, which was emperor of
extremely sensible of *Manfred's* perfidious proceedings, they Germany.
found it disposed as they could ^{as he wished for} but the
prince's tender age proved an insurmountable obstacle to their
success, and they were obliged to return to *Lucca*. Next
year, viz. 1262, the *Florentines* there found means to sur-
prise *Segni*; upon which *Novello* once more invaded the ter-
ritories of the *Lucquese*, and, being joined by the *Pisans*, he
defeated the *Lucquese* and the *Florentine* fugitives, who were
far inferior to him, in a pitched battle; which put into the
hands of *Novello* the greatest part of the territory of *Lucca*
without the walls of that capital. Those misfortunes obliged *The Luc-*
the *Lucquese*, many of whom were of the *Gibelin* party, to ^{quest ex-}
enter into a secret treaty with *Novello*; one article of which ^{per the Flo-}
was, that the *Florentine* fugitives should be expelled from the ^{rentine}
territories of *Lucca*, and that there should be a firm union ^{Gibelins.}
between the *Lucquese* and the *Florentines*, with a general re-
lease of prisoners on both sides. The fugitives had suspected
nothing of this treaty, when, all of a sudden, they had orders
to evacuate the *Lucquese* territories, which they were obliged
instantly to do, with their wives and children, and to retire
to *Bologna*. They were followed by great numbers of the
Arezzians, who could no longer resist the arms of *Novello*.
It is amazing that this sudden reverse of fortune, by which a
people, who, but a few days before, were little less than so-
vereigns, was reduced to a state of exile and beggary, did
not damp them, or at least prevail upon them to apply for
some mitigation from their countrymen. But the enthusiasm ^{Effects of}
of party had touched their brains, and indeed those of all the ^{enthusiasm.}
Italians in general; and it is hard, at this time, to decide upon
the merits of the two parties that then divided *Italy*, and the
greatest part of *Europe*. The *Gibelins* could not bear with
the upstart insolence of the bishops of *Rome*. The *Guelphs*
could not endure the tyranny of the emperors and of *Man-*
fred, and perhaps they considered the pope as a power far less
formidable than either of them. Such seems to have been
the sentiments of the exiled *Florentines* of the *Guelph* faction,
who considered their country as being subdued by *Manfred*,
and they disdained to live as slaves in states where they had

reigned as masters; but their fortune was on the eve of a new revolution.

The Flo-
rentine
exiles assist
the Mo-
denese
Guelphs.

MODENA, like the other parts of Italy, was torn between the two factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The exiled Florentines were now considered as soldiers of fortune, and the *Guelph* faction in that city invited them to their assistance. The exiles cheerfully obeyed the call, and drove the *Gibelins* out of *Modena*. They were rewarded by having the money and effects of the expelled party divided amongst them, which being very considerable, enabled them to make a very handsome appearance. The same of their good fortune soon reached *Reggio*, and others of their party joined them. *Reggio*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Modena*, was pretty much in the same situation; and the *Guelphs* there had likewise taken arms against the *Gibelins*, who were headed by one *Casca*, a man of gigantic stature, and of such amazing strength and activity, that he carried an army in his own person. It was owing to him that the *Gibelins*, on all occasions, worsted the *Guelphs* in *Reggio*, and the latter, in imitation of those of *Modena*, called in the adventurers, who flew to their deliverance. Being admitted into the town, a dreadful conflict ensued in the market-place, where *Casca*, as usual, bore down all before him, till he was attacked and killed by a chosen band of *Flarentines*, with the young *Forssius Adimar*, who was general of the expedition, at their head; and who is said, by some writers, to have killed *Casca* with his own hand in single combat, after a desperate engagement. The conquerors received the like rewards here, but in greater abundance, as at *Modena*; and now the exiles began to be of great consequence in Italy, where affairs took an unexpected turn.

Succession
of the
popes.

POPE *Alexander IV.* was obliged all this time to keep himself shut up in *Viterbo*, not daring to trust himself amongst the *Romans*. Upon his death, he was succeeded by *Urban IV.* a Frenchman, who had been a shoe-maker at *Troye* in *Champagne*. Seeing that the power of *Manfred* and the *Germans* threatened the extinction of the papal power in Italy, and perceiving that the young *Conradin*, who had then only the title of duke of *Austria*, was too weak to oppose *Manfred*, or to recover the kingdoms he had usurped, he bestowed, as far as he could bestow, the kingdom of *Naples* upon *Charles of Anjou*, brother to *Lewis the Saint*, and king of *France*. *Charles* accepted of the compliment, and made preparations to take possession of his kingdom. In the mean while pope *Urban* died, and was succeeded by *Clement IV.* who, like his predecessor, was intirely in the French interest, and confirmed the

the grant his predecessor had made to *Charles of Anjou*, though in evident prejudice to the rights of young *Conradin*. Saint *Lewis*, it is true, seemed to make some difficulty in agreeing *Charles* of to strip an unoffending minor of his property; but the pope *Anjou* got the better of all his scruples, and *Charles* embarked at *Marfeilles* with thirty galleys, and arrived at *Rome* in the year 1265, where he was solemnly crowned king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, but upon very advantageous terms to the Holy See, and received the important dignity of a *Roman* senator.

WHEN we write the history of *Florence* at this period, we write that of the brave *Florentine* exiles, who refused to submit to *Manfred's* usurpations, and who had offered their services to pope *Clement*, in support of his new system of power in *Italy*. They were now very numerous, well equipped with arms, and experienced in war. The pope with great joy took them into his service, and told them he would depend in a great measure upon them for success. At the same time he made them a present of a new armorial bearing for their standard, which was a red eagle squeezing between his talons a blue dragon. After this, at the recommendation of the pope, they made *Guido Guerra* their general, and they marched in a body to join *Charles of Anjou's* army in the plains of *Mantua*, where they excelled all the other troops in the beauty of their appearance and the richness of their armour. They were received with peculiar honours by *Charles* and his generals, they being the first *Italians* who joined him; and their historians have given us a detail of the complimentary speeches that passed between *Charles* and *Guido* upon this occasion. It is certain, that our adventurers did him vast services, as his troops were entirely strangers in the country. He immediately directed his march towards *Monte Casino*, where he entered his new kingdom, and where our adventurers gave the first specimens of their courage in his service, by making themselves masters of one of *Manfred's* forts, which our historians distinguish by no other name than that of the *German* town. After this a great number of other places surrendered to *Charles*, whose progress was so rapid, that *Manfred* resolved to put the whole to a short issue, that of the sword. *Charles* being equally forward, both armies drew up in order of battle in the plains of *Benevento*, the country of the ancient *Samnites*. Before the battle joined, *Manfred* observed a body of troops, superior in appearance to all the rest of *Charles's* army, of different armour, and under a separate command. Observing at the same time the new device of their standard, he asked, with astonishment, who they were. Being told that they were the exiled *Florentines* of the *Guelph* party, "Then, said he,

he, where are the *Florentines* of my party, on whom I have heaped so many favours?" He was answered, that none of them were in the field. This answer drew from him several violent expressions against their ingratitude and cowardice, and pointing to the exiles, "That body of men, said he, this day must be conquerors; for, if I am victorious, I am determined, at any rate, to make them my friends." Manfred then ordered the signal for battle. Guido was at the head of the *Florentines*, and their standard-bearer was *Corrad Magnifico*, a *Piscean* knight. Their courage in the battle was answered to their warlike appearance. Manfred's army was defeated, and he himself was killed; and amongst the prisoners made by the *Florentines* were several of their capital enemies, particularly *Jordano*, who, four years before, had given them the fatal defeat near *Sienna*, and who finished his life in prison. By this victory *Charles* came into possession of all the kingdom of *Naples*.

Popular government by this success of *Charles*; and the friends and relations of the restored exiles began now boldly to avow their principles. *Novello*, the governor of *Florence*; (who till then had acted very oppressively in his office) and his creatures saw it was in vain for them to resist; and consented that a council of thirty-six, half *Gibelins*, half *Guelphs*, should be instituted, to take care of the affairs of the public. The head of the *Gibelins* was *Cathalani*, as *Lodoringo* was of the *Guelphs*. Thus popular government was, in some measure, restored in *Florence*. The heads of the two parties agreed so well together, that many excellent civil institutions at this time took place there. The different artists and tradesmen were divided into companies. Each had its separate distinctions and armorial bearings; and it was agreed, that all should assemble, in cases of danger to the state. The nobility did not relish their loss of power, and began to cabal together, when the people refused to pay the mercenaries that had been hired by *Novello*, who, calling his friends and troops together, expelled the thirty-six from their posts in the government; and from that time a civil war commenced. The *Lamberti*, a noble family in *Florence*, joined with *Novello*; who marching to reduce the populace, at the head of his *German*s and the nobility, was received with such a shower of stones, discharged from the windows and roofs of the houses, that he was obliged to retreat to the old temple of *Mars*, which was the place of rendezvous for his party. He then repaired to the house where *Cathalani* and *Lodoringo* were, where he demanded the keys of the city-gates, which, after some difficulty, were sent to him; and then

then he, with all the nobility of his party, and his German mercenaries, marched out of the city and took post at *Prato*. This measure had been dictated by jealousy and fear, though the two magistrates of the people had promised to quiet the tumult if he would remain in the city. Upon recollection, he found he had mistaken his measures, and marched back with his troops and followers to *Florence*, where he found the gates shut. Both intreaties and force were ineffectual for his re-admittance; and after spending some hours in vain, he was obliged again to make his retreat to *Prato*. Novello expelled from Florence.

THE people thus regaining the government of their city, thought of reverting to the principles of their first popular constitution, and of restoring the magistracy of the *Antiani*, under which they had done so great things, and which accordingly taking place, the authority of the two late presidents, instituted by *Novello*, was thereby abolished. It is wonderful with what moderation this restored model of the *Florentine* government was established. The people by their late sufferings became sensible of their former errors; and though the illustrious exiles were restored to their estates and dignities, yet a law passed that made no difference between them and the nobility of *Novello's* faction, if the latter should think proper to return to the city. The *Guelph* exiles returned covered with laurels, and were received with prodigious acclamations of the people, who, intent upon banishing civil animosities, obliged *Novello* to give his daughter in marriage to *Foresius Adimar*. The contending families of the *Uberti* and *Lamberti* were united in the same manner, and their examples produced the like alliances amongst the other nobility of opposite factions. It is remarked in history, that those intermarriages arose from the people reflecting upon the dreadful consequences that had happened to their state in former times on account of disagreeable marriages. The constitution restored.

THIS nuptial expedient however was far from having the desired effect. The people pushed their power too far in becoming the match-makers, and in forcing the parties to intermarry. The heart-burnings between the two factions began again to gather strength, and the exiles, who were not returned to their country, treating the opposite party as vanquished, severely resented their having deserted them at the battle near *Sienna*, which the *Florentine* historians call the battle of *Arbe*, because it was fought on the banks of that river. While those discontents continued, *Conradin*, the lawful heir to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which had now twice been wickedly torn from him, though no more than sixteen years of age, was making preparations to recover with the Guelph exiles.

Conradin
prepares to
recover his
right.

cover his paternal inheritance. The injustice done him in his infancy, as well as his right of blood, had raised him many friends; but it was necessary for him to depend for support upon the *Gibelin* faction. *Charles* of *Anjou*, now king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, foresaw the storm approaching, and his first care was to secure *Tuscany* in his interest. With this view he sent, by the advice as is said of the *Florentines*, *Malatesta*, an illustrious Italian nobleman, and one of his officers, with a body of horse, to overawe the *Pisans* and the *Senesi*, and in fact all *Tuscany*. But as king of *Naples* and *Sicily* he could have no pretension upon *Tuscany*; and the holy see, by a most unheard of strain of injustice, was obliged to give him a title. The pope pretended that during the vacancy of the *Roman* empire the temporary government of *Tuscany* devolved upon him, and under this arbitrary claim

Charles of
Anjou
made vicar
of Tus-
cany.

he constituted *Charles* of *Anjou* the imperial vicar or lieutenant over the whole province. The exiles had been returned only four months when *Malatesta* signified his intention to take possession of *Florence*, as well as the other places in *Tuscany*, and the governing party gave him assurances of welcome. Upon this the *Guelphs* of the city left it, and for some weeks all the neighbouring country became a scene of robbery and murder. The *Gibelins* were now what their adversaries had been before, the opposers of a foreign power, in whose name justice was administered in *Florence*. But the papal authority covered all defects of title, and the *Florentine Guelphs* thought they could not exceed in their gratitude to a prince, who,

The Gibe-
lin exiles
put to the
sword.

like *Charles*, had restored them to their country. The self-exiled *Gibelins* however were very powerful; but at last the places they had made themselves masters of in the *Florentine* territory were taken by their adversaries, and great numbers of them put to the sword. The *Gibelin* faction being thus totally suppressed, the *Florentines*, who remained in that city, were soon divided into factions, on account of the estates that had been confiscated, but were now claimed by those who had been exiled after the battle of *Arbe*. A vast altercation followed upon this, and the matter was at last referred to the papal and the royal decision, which was in favour of the *Arbican* exiles. This iniquitous sentence was occasioned by the dread of young *Conradin*, who was now ready to enter *Italy*, and the desire that both *Charles* and the pope had to keep the prevailing party in *Florence* in their interest, having already so fully experienced their fidelity and attachment to the see of *Rome*. Thus the very men who had so bravely resisted slavery from one quarter, voluntarily embraced it from another.

THE pope however did not think it sufficient to have only a momentary ascendancy over his new subjects; and he managed so that a political college, for we can call it by no other name, was added to the other colleges of Florence. *Are-tine* is of opinion that this college subsisted before^a; but be that as it will, it certainly was renewed and completed at this time. The duty of the members, who had a president, (who sometimes was a foreigner, provided he was a *Guelph*) assigned to them, was to examine into the principles, qualifications, and conduct of the citizens; and whoever underwent their censure became thereby incapable of all trust in the government.

GUELPHISM being thus firmly established in Florence, War between the heads of the party declared war against the *Siennese*, in revenge of their defeat at *Arbe*, and laid that territory waste to the very gates of *Sienna*; but they could not bring their tines and enemies to a battle. While the *Florentines* were upon this *Siennese* expedition, the *Gibelin* exiles rendezvoused at *Boniti*; upon which the *Florentine* army marched thither, with *Malatesta* at their head, and laid siege to the place. The besieged were encouraged to a vigorous defence, by assurances sent them both from *Sienna* and *Pisa*, of a powerful diversion in their favour. The defence made by the besieged was so brave, that *Charles* of *Anjou* came in person into *Tuscany* to head the *Florentine* army. He was received with vast honours at *Florence*, from whence he set out for the siege. The place being naturally strong, the besieged made a vigorous defence for four months; but the numbers of the besiegers daily encreasing, the garrison at last made an honourable capitulation, and *Boniti* surrendered to *Charles*. Though winter at the time of the surrender was far advanced, yet *Charles* before he went into quarters, took some places from the *Pisani*, which he gave to his friends the *Lucqueses*, and then put an end to the campaign.

WHILE *Charles* remained in *Tuscany*, he reduced the whole *Political* of that province to his obedience, excepting *Sienna* and *Pisa*: *but* he now, viz. in the year 1267, received the important news that young *Conradin*, as the representative of the emperor *Fredrick II.* and head of the house of *Suabia* had passed the *Alps* with an army, to make good his family claims in *Italy*. The popes of this age, had all of them, the same turn of genius, which was for an universal authority in temporals as well as spirituels. Though their power was then but low, for it did not extend even over the city of *Rome*,

^a Ibid. pag. 39.

yet their influence was incredible, through the practices of the ecclesiastics upon the minds of the common people, many of whom, the *Florentines* especially, were implicitly devoted to the holy see. Those vulgar prepossessions gathered strength, through the ambitious views of contending princes, who in their turns found it their interest to have the *Roman* pontiff on their side. This was the case first with *Manfred*, and then with *Charles of Anjou*, as well as many petty lords and princes in *Italy*, who, by the favour of the holy see, had erected themselves into independent governments, only paying a small consideration to the pope. But neither *Manfred* nor *Charles* were princes disposed to bear subjection to the holy see longer than they found it necessary to their ambition; and the pope at this time, who was *Clement IV.* perceiving *Charles*, now that he was master of *Tuscany*, to grow too powerful and independent, would probably have broken with him, had he not dreaded the house of *Suabia* more than he did that of *Anjou*.

History of
Don Henry
of Castile,

who be-
comes mas-
ter of
Rome.

HENRY, brother to the king of *Castile*, having long led a kind of a knight-errant's life in *Africa*, where he had acquired a great deal of money in the service of the king of *Tunis*, about this time came to *Italy*, and by the mediation of money was treating with *Charles* and the pope, who was still at *Viterbo*, about purchasing the kingdom of *Sardinia*. While this treaty was on foot an insurrection happened at *Rome*, and *Don Henry* was employed by the pope to quell it, which he did, and became so popular the that the pope could not prevent his taking upon him the title and power of governor of *Rome*. The *Castilian* by this time began more than to suspect that the pope and *Charles*, to whom he had lent a great sum of money, intended to deceive and disappoint him. He demanded the repayment of his money from *Charles*; but receiving no satisfaction, he renounced their party, and embraced that of *Conradin*, who thereby obtained a valuable acquisition. *Don Henry* was not only absolute master of *Rome*, but had in his interest all the *Moslems* or *Saracens*, who remained in the city of *Naples*, and who were very numerous there, and the king of *Tunis*, who was then a formidable power to *Italy*. He had likewise a fleet under his command; and his brother *Frederick*, who was still in the service of the king of *Tunis*, had secured the greatest part of *Sicily* to his interest.

Conradin
invades
Italy.

So many threatening events obliged *Charles* of *Anjou* to lay aside the design he had formed of reducing *Sienna* and *Pisa*, and to leave the *Florentine* territories. The *Pisans*, by *Don Henry's* assistance, had then a fleet at sea, and many
of

of the *Florentine Ghibelins* served on board it. This was of great service to *Conradin* in *Sicily*^b: But that young prince was poor; and when he came to *Vent* he found himself obliged to dismiss his *German* army, all but three thousand horse; a force so small to subdue *Tuscany*, which his interest led him to have attempted. Being joined, however, by great numbers of the *Ghibelin* faction, he insulted *Lucca*, but durst not fight the *Florentine* army which came to its defence, and harrassed him in his march to *Senna*. The *Florentines* were commanded at this time by one of *Charles's* lieutenants, who, on his march to *Arezzo*, dismissed the *Florentine* horse with a kind of contempt of their services. *Conradin's* generals understanding this, formed an ambush against the Royalists, for so the party of *Charles* was called, between the *Arno* and the mountains, at the persuasion of the *Florentine Ghibelins* who served under *Conradin*. This stratagem was so effectual, that all the Royalists, but a few who had got over a bridge before it was seized by the *Germans*, were cut in pieces almost without resistance. This defeat was of great service to *Conradin's* affairs, and he marched without opposition by *Viterbo*, where the pope still was, to *Rome*. It was in vain for the pope to launch out his thunders against him; for *Conradin* destroyed the territories of *Viterbo* before his eyes, and plundered all the estates of the *Guelph* faction. He was received at *Rome* by *Don Henry* with regal, or rather imperial honours. *Charles*, who knew he was hated in *Italy*, by this time had received a considerable reinforcement of veteran cavalry from *France*; and though his numbers were far inferior to those of *Conradin*, who had actually entered the kingdom of *Naples*, he resolved to give him battle, and both armies met at *Aquila*, or *Alva*, in *Abruzzo*. He knew, that excepting the *Germans* and the *Florentine* exiles, and some troops who followed *Don Henry*, the whole not amounting to six thousand men, *Conradin* had but few soldiers in his army, and that the rest, who were mostly composed of needy *Italians*, were under no discipline. He therefore placed a strong ambush behind a hill, out of the view of his enemies, who at first bore down all before them; but falling to plunder, as *Charles* had foreseen, he fell upon them with his ambushed troops, and totally defeated *Conradin*, who had thought himself sure of victory, and it was with difficulty he escaped to *Rome*. But the victory at *Alva* had changed the face of affairs there, where the *Guelph* families of *Ursini* and *Sabelli* now prevailed; so that he was obliged to fly from *Rome* to-

Army of Charles of Anjou defeated.

and he was defeated;

wards *Pisa*; but in his flight he was taken prisoner, with his cousin the duke of *Austria*, who had attended him in his expedition, and Don *Henry* of *Castile*. Being carried to *Naples*, *Conradin* and the duke of *Austria*, though both sovereign princes, were tried before the syndics of the cities of that kingdom, and condemned to die. It is hardly credible that *Charles* of *Arragon*, however ambitious he might be, would have put to death two innocent princes, the eldest of whom was not above seventeen years of age, had he not in a manner been intimidated into that cruelty by pope *Clement IV*, who, though then on his death-bed, sent him the famous apothegm, *Conradi vita, Caroli mors, Caroli vita, Conradi mors*, which signifies “*Conrad’s life is Charles’s death, Charles’s life is Conrad’s death*.” This detestable advice determined *Charles* to put the sentence in execution.

and with
the duke of
Austria
executed.
ON the twenty-sixth of *October*, 1268; the two young princes were led to a scaffold, erected in the market-place of *Naples*, together with *Gerard* of *Pisa*, who had commanded the *Florentine Ghibelins* under *Conradin* at the late battle, with several other persons of distinction, and there they all of them lost their heads. The death of *Conradin* was particularly affecting. When he came upon the scaffold he threw his gauntlet amongst the people, desiring it might be carried to his cousin *Peter* of *Arragon*, who would revenge his death. He then snatched up the head of the duke of *Austria*, with whom the execution began, and, while he tenderly embraced it, his own was struck off. It is said that his gauntlet, or glove, was faithfully delivered by a *German knight* to *Peter* of *Arragon*.

WHILE those tragedies were acting, *Tuscany* was in a state rather of expectation than tranquility; but no sooner was the death of *Conradin* certified than both parties resumed their arms. A great many *Florentine* exiles still remained at *Sienna*; and early in the year 1269 they laid siege to *Colle*, which is situated upon the river *Alsa*, a branch of the *Arno*, and not far from *Florence*. The *Florentines* immediately sent some troops to the assistance of their allies, and though only the cavalry threw themselves into the place, the *Siennese* raised the siege; but being pursued lost a great number of men, no quarter being given by the *Florentines*. The latter, that same year, besieged *Ortina*, which was garrisoned by the exiled *Ghibelins* of *Florence*. Not finding the place tenable, they endeavoured to escape by night, but were intercepted, and most of them killed or taken prisoners. The *Florentines* after this joined their troops to those of *Lucca*, and laid waste the *Pisan* territories. This brought on a peace with the *Siennese*,
who

A peace.

who admitted a governor from *Charles* into their city, and agreed to give no harbour to any of the *Florentine* fugitives, who, in consequence of this peace, were obliged to retire towards the *Capuan* territories, where many of them were put to the sword by the *Florentines* and others, amongst whom was *Ætiolius*, the son of the noble *Faxrata*, were made prisoners and sent to *Florence*, where they were capitally punished.

CHARLES of *Anjou* was now by far the most powerful prince in *Italy*; but the death of *Urban IV.* and the intrigues that followed in the election of a new pope revived the troubles of *Tuscany*, where the *Gibelins* again got ground. *Lewis* king of *France*, notwithstanding his sanctity, far from blaming his brother for his inhumanity, at this time undertook a crusade against the king of *Tunis*, on account of the friendship he had shewn to *Conradin*, and required his brother to attend him. This happened just at the time when the *Florentines* and *Lucques*, not at all doubting of being assisted by *Charles*, had made vast preparations for war against the *Pisans*, his and their determined enemies; but the views of *Charles* were very different from those of the *Florentines*. Being about to attend his brother, he studied to leave every thing in tranquillity during his absence, and for that purpose set out in person for *Florence*. All *Italy* thought the ruin of *Pisa* inevitable, as *Charles* daily expressed the most bitter rancour against that city: but he no sooner arrived in the *Tuscan* territories, than he gave a favourable audience to the *Pisan* deputies, who offered to assist him with ships in his *African* expedition. Upon this he not only made peace with them, but obliged the *Florentines* to do the same. So unexpected an event greatly dissatisfied the *Florentines*; but to appease them *Charles* took and razed to the ground *Boniti*, or *peace with Bonitium*, which was the receptacle of all the *Tuscan* *Gibelins*. His governor *Guido*, however, obliged the *Florentines* to refund all the money that *Charles* had expended in the siege and demolition of the place.

THE see of *Rome* still continued vacant; but the late peace between the *Florentines* and *Siennese* had entirely reconciled those two people, when *Lewis* the *French* king died in his *African* expedition, and *Charles* of *Anjou* returned to *Italy*, where he found things in great disorder. At last *Theobald* of *Placentia*, afterwards *Gregory X.* was chosen pope. It was he who indicted the council of *Lyons*, and he then repaired with a vast retinue to *Florence*, with a view, as he pretended,

He alters
the Flo-
rentine go-
vernment.

a.

of abolishing all distinctions of party in *Tuscany*; but in reality to weaken the interest of *Charles* there. His election took place in the year 127th; and calling together all the leading men of *Florence*, he made them a very soothing speech, tending to persuade them to re-admit the exiled *Gibelins* into their city. This the *Florentines* humbly, though firmly, opposed; but his holiness, being master there, he forced them to comply, and all the favour he shewed the governing party, was to oblige some of the heads of the *Gibelin* faction to give hostages, that they would not make a bad use of the indulgence that had been shewn them. Notwithstanding his authority, and all the fulminations he pronounced against those who should break the peace, and his even founding a kind of temple of concord, to which he gave his own name; yet the chief *Florentines* remained vastly dissatisfied with the peace that had been forced upon them, and the return of the exiles, who were so apprehensive of the power of their adversaries, that they again voluntarily left the city. This so greatly exasperated the party, that he laid the remaining *Florentines* under an interdict from all sacred functions. The *Florentines*, who seem originally to have embraced the papal cause, only because it was least dangerous to their liberties, were far from being intimidated by its thunders; and *Florence* continued under the interdict for three years, so that it is doubtful, says their historian, which was most prevalent, the obstinacy of the pontiff, or the perseverance of the citizens.

Affairs of
Tuscany.

THE differences between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy*, under this pope, who filled the papal chair four years, raged more than ever. The *Florentines* offered again to assist their friends of *Bologna* against their adversaries with troops; but the *Bolognese* refused to admit them into their city. The *Pisans* again expelled the *Guelphs* out of their territory, and they found shelter in *Florence* and *Lucca*. Their chief was count *Ugolini*, a man of vast consequence in *Tuscany*; and, notwithstanding the repeated menaces of the pope, the *Florentines* and *Luccese* put him at the head of an army, with which he laid waste the estates of his enemies to the very gates of *Pisa*. The pope at this time was holding the council of *Lyons*; and growing daily more and more uneasy at the power of *Charles* of *Anjou*, he wrote to the electors of the empire, commanding them to chuse an emperor, as that dignity had been in fact vacant fifteen years; threatening, if they did not agree in their election, to give, by his own authority, a head to the empire. Their choice fell upon *Rodolph* of *Hapsburg*, ancestor to the present house of *Austria*, chiefly because he was so inconsiderable a prince, that the electors

Count of
Hapsburg
chosen em-
peror.

electors had nothing to fear from his power. This election happened in the year 1273; and the following year it was confirmed by the pope, whose friendship was of great service to *Rodolph*.

THE imperial dignity being now filled, *Charles of Anjou*, Florence king of *Naples*, had no farther pretext for acting under the pope as imperial vicar in *Tuscany*; and this was thought to be the great view the pope had in hastening the election of an emperor^d. *Gregory* however could not be prevailed upon to remove his interdict from the *Florentines*, though by the swelling of the *Arno* he was obliged, upon his return out of *France*, to pass, against his will, some days in *Florence*. All he could be prevailed on to do was to give the people there his benediction, but without remitting their punishment. Removing from *Florence* to *Arezzo*, he there fell sick, and died in 1276. He was succeeded by *Innocent V.* who took off his predecessor's interdict from *Florence*. The war between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans* still continued, and the latter had, with incredible labour, cut a ditch, which divided the territories of the two republics, and terminated at the mouth of the *Arno*. This ditch was fortified at certain distances with towers, and for some years it was of vast service to the *Pisans* against the incursions of the *Florentines*. The latter however at last discovered, in a dry season, that they could pass it by the channel of the *Arno*, which they did with a body of horse, and surprising the *Pisans*, they and their faithful allies the *Lucchese* cut in pieces great numbers of them, and drove the others to the gates of *Pisa*. The allies then plundered all that rich territory; and were making dispositions for besieging *Pisa* itself, when the pope, by his legate, one *Valasco* a *Spaniard*, forced both parties into an accommodation, by which count *Ugolini* and his friends were reinstated in their former honours and possessions in *Pisa*; and all the other matters of controversy between the two republics were referred to his holiness.

INNOCENT dying in the fourth month of his pontificate, he was succeeded by *Adrian V.* who lived but a few days after his election; and his successor, *John XXI.* was killed by an accident at *Viterbo*, in the sixth month of his pontificate: thus four popes died in three years. The next pope was *Nicholas III.* an *Italian*, of the noble house of *Ursini*, who was chosen in the year 1277. This spirited pontiff followed the plan chalked out by *Gregory X.* for reducing the power of *Charles of Anjou* and the *French* faction in *Italy*, and

^d ARETINI, pag. 52.

The History of Florence.

deprived him not only of his dignity of *Roman senator*, but of the vicariate of *Tuscany*. His holiness, at the same time, put his kinsman *Bartolo Ursini* at the head of some troops, to give the greater weight to the papal authority; and sent his legate *Latino*, who was very popular in *Tuscany*, to reconcile all the jarring interests there. The legate was a man of great address; and finding that the extravagance and haughtiness of some of the *Florentine* nobility had disgusted the magistracy, he artfully brought the latter over to agree to the recalling the exiled *Gibelins*, by which he conciliated all parties in the city to each other. After this, to make the reconciliation more lasting, he prevailed on the heads of each faction publicly to embrace one another, and to give reciprocal securities for preserving the tranquility of the state.

*His legate
new models
the Flo-
rentine go-
vernment.*

He then new-modelled the *Florentine* government, by creating a magistracy of fourteen persons, chosen indifferently out of both parties; ordered all the records and sentences against the exiles to be cancelled, and destroyed and took such other prudent measures, that they were restored to their estates and honours. In this reconciliation so much good faith was observed, that all the exiles returned to *Florence*, except about sixty families, whom the pope detained near *Rome* for a short time, till the accommodation should be fully established. But the interest of the holy see was not forgot in this negotiation: some forts or castles, as they are called, were put into the hands of his holiness, and *Florence* was obliged to receive from him every two years its magistracy.

S E C T. III.

Containing the History of Florence, after the new Plan of their Republic took place; their Wars with the Pisans, and Arezzians, and other Italian States; the Institution of the Office of Gonfalonier; and their Revolutions till the Year 1300.

*Charles of
Anjou re-
signs the
vicariate
of Tus-
cany.*

IT is somewhat surprising that a prince, so ambitious and powerful as *Charles of Anjou* was, should, so quietly as he did, resign the vicariate of *Tuscany*, by which he had been enabled to do so many great things, especially when we consider the weakness of the emperor *Rodolph*, and the yet unsettled state of his government. But *Charles* perceived the *French* growing every day more and more odious in *Italy*,
and

and yet he could trust no others, nor was his own government over *Naples* and *Sicily* so secure as not to be shaken by the papal fulminations. Such were the considerations that determined him to make no resistance, and to draw his troops out of *Tuscany*. As to the *Florentines*, the comprehensive system which had taken place, left them little to fear from the power of the pope, if he had inclined to make a bad use of it, while they continued united amongst themselves, and his protection was very useful to them against more dangerous masters. For two years the government of *Florence* went so smoothly on, that their historians tell us that nothing memorable at home happened during that time.

In the year 1281 pope *Nicholas III.* died of an apoplectic fit at *Viterbo*; and differences arose to such a height in the conclave between the *Italian* and *French* factions, that the populace breaking into it, abused and imprisoned the friends of the late pope, whom they hated; but the choice at last fell upon a *French* cardinal, who took the name of *Mar-* Martin IV. and was a dependent of *Charles of Anjou*. In the mean while the emperor *Rodolph*, who was a wise and a brave prince, had, by the concessions he made to pope *Nicholas III.* got possession of the government of *Tuscany*, which he managed by a deputy. This deputy, on his arrival, found he had little or no power there, especially at *Florence* and *Lucca*, and raised a body of *Germans* to enforce obedience to his commands. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, depended for protection on the new pope, and his countryman *Charles of Anjou*; and joining with the *Lukes*, who still more violently opposed the imperial authority, they took and razed to the ground the town of *Pisidia*, or *Poggia*, because it was in that interest; but the affairs of the pope, and his friend *Charles of Anjou*, taking an unfavourable turn, the *Florentines* resumed their usual jealousy of their governors. Perceiving the pope was no longer able to protect them against the growing power of the emperor, and that he sought rather to put them up to sale to the best bidder, they again changed their form of government, and abolished the authority of the fourteen magistrates, introduced by the legate *Latino*. In their room they chose for their magistrates three eminent citizens, whom they called the presidents of the artists; in *Latin*, *priores artium*. This number was afterwards enlarged; and, in fact, it was little more than a renewal of their most ancient form of government, after *Florence* aspired to be a republic, and somewhat resembled that

The Florentines change the form of their government.

of the *Antiani*. This form was chosen as being the most effectual curb upon the nobility of both parties. The presidents first chosen were men of plain, sober sense, and the most distinguished for industry, frugality, and simplicity of manners, and consequently for pacific dispositions. Their names were *Bertolo Bardi*, who was of a noble family, and very rich; *Rossi Baccarelli*, and *Salvio Cori Ferme*. Those three magistrates were obliged constantly to reside, or rather to be imprisoned, in the town-house, or guild-hall, without being suffered all the time of their magistracy, which was to last two months, to repair to their private houses. In other respects they were not unprovided with the badges of authority: their table and all their expences were defrayed by the public. They had twenty-four officers allowed them, of whom twelve served as messengers or beadles, for convoking the citizens to the public hall, and for executing the inferior duties of justice. As to the presidents themselves, the first charge they had from their constituents was, that during the time of their magistracy they should concern themselves with nothing but the affairs of government. When the first two months of this new constitution were elapsed, six presidents were chosen, being one for each ward in the city. This was a year of scarcity and famine in the *Florentine* state, through the rains and inundations that had happened during the seed-time.

*Affairs of
Italy,*

THE *Florentines* still continuing refractory to the imperial authority, about this time received into their city the son of *Charles of Anjou*, in his return from *France*, with some troops to his father's assistance, with great respect, and even lent him six hundred horse, to be employed in his *Sicilian* wars. This makes it necessary for us briefly to recount the history of that prince, so far as it is immediately connected with that of *Florence*.

and Sicily.

THE fatal success of the crusades in the Holy Land, had at this time cured the *European* princes of that passion; but in the course of them they became acquainted with the weakness of the *Greek* empire, and the degeneracy of its government; and *Charles* thought that it would be no difficult attempt to conquer *Constantinople* itself, provided he could ensure the quiet of his regal dominions during his absence. *Sicily* had been the most refractory; but after the defeat and death of *Conradin* he again reduced it; and he thought the only way to preserve the natives in subjection, was to keep them in misery. He therefore abandoned that noble island to the government of the most rapacious set of men, most of them *Provençals*, or *Frenchmen*, that ever disgraced the human appearance.

pearance. The instances of their avarice, lust, and cruelty, are numerous, and detestable beyond example. *John de Procida*, a gentleman of *Salerno*, of a good estate, but exercising at once the professions of law and medicine, found means to come to the knowledge of *Charles's* design upon *Constantinople*, to which cit. he went in disguise, and had an interview with the emperor *Michael Paleologus*, who furnished him with money, and encouraged him in the projects he was meditating. He had the like interviews with *Peter* king of *Arragon*, who was married to *Constance*, daughter to *Manfred*; and *Procida*, who was devoted, to enthusiasm, to the memory of the house of *Suabia*, exhorted him so earnestly to revenge the blood of *Conradin*, that that prince and his queen fell in with all his views, which terminated in no less than a general massacre of all the *French* and *Provençals* in *Sicily*, at the first knell of the bell that was to call the *Sicilians* to the vespers the third day after *Easter*, in 1282. It is almost incredible that a project like this, so shocking in its own nature, should be communicated to above a hundred thousand people for many months before it was put into execution, and yet be kept so inviolably secret, that not one of the destined victims came to the knowledge of it, or so much as suspected themselves to be in danger. No sooner did the fatal knell sound than the tragedy began, and so furiously incensed were the islanders at their tyrants, that they even massacred such of their own daughters as were pregnant by *Frenchmen*. Above eight thousand were massacred on this occasion. In the mean while *Peter* of *Arragon*, under pretence of an expedition to *Africa*, had fitted out a fleet to support the revolt of the *Sicilians*, and the right of his wife to that island.

CHARLES of *Anjou*, according to the *Florentine* historians, was in *Lombardy* to join his son, when he heard of this dismal revolution; but immediately returning to *Naples*, he went from *Reggio* to *Sicily*, where he laid siege to *Messina*, the *Florentine* auxiliaries serving under him. The siege was vigorously pressed, and the place as vigorously defended, till it was relieved by *Peter* of *Arragon*, who oblig'd *Charles* to make a precipitate retreat to his ships. All the loss the *Florentines* sustained on this occasion was a state sent, and their troops were said to have returned undiminished home, where they were received with great joy.

FLORENCE at this time enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquillity, considering the commotions that prevailed through all the rest of *Italy*, and began to make no inconsiderable progress in those fine arts that afterwards so greatly distinguished her. The imperial deputy in *Tuscany*, who

*Siege of
Messina,*

*which is
raised.*

*Prosperous
state of
Florence.*

seems never to have ventured himself within the walls of *Florence*, not being supported by his master, had desisted from harrassing the citizens, who, on the return of their cavalry from *Sicily*, held a kind of jubilee, by exhibiting plays and pageants, and entertainments of all kinds, at which both sexes appeared magnificently dressed, the men in a white uniform, and the women in their richest apparel.

The Genoese join
the Florentines
against the
Pisans.

THE next year, 1283, was observed to have been a busy year amongst the *Florentines*, between whom and the *Pisans* the old animosities still subsisted. The *Genoese* at this time began to make so great a figure at sea, that they had defeated the *Pisans* on that element, and the *Florentines* thought that a lucky opportunity then presented for ruining the power of *Pisa*, both by sea and land; by entering into a league with the *Genoese*. They had received fresh provocation, by the assistance the *Pisans* had given to the imperial deputy, and by their invasions upon the properties of the *Florentine* allies; at least, those were made the pretexts for war. The *Lucchese*, who likewise had their quarrels with the *Pisans*, came into the same confederacy, as did several other petty states, and the storm fell at once upon *Pisa* by sea and land; the allied army carrying fire and sword to the walls of that city, and the *Genoese* fleet destroying their coasts. It does not however appear, that the allies this year obtained any other conquests than those over the open country of *Pisa*; for they returned home with a resolution to besiege that city next year with greater effect. The consternation however into which the *Pisans* were thrown, gave count *Ugolini*, whom we have already mentioned, an opportunity to become master of *Pisa*, and he undertook to pacify the *Florentines*, with whom he said his countrymen had no differences, but the idle fantastical distinctions of party. By his address *Florence* was detached from the confederacy, and the weight of the war fell upon the *Genoese* and the *Lucchese*, by which, in all probability, *Pisa* was saved from destruction.

The Florentines
cultivate
the arts of
peace.

TRANQUILITY being thus again restored to *Florence*, her inhabitants wisely again applied themselves to the arts of peace, which, by making their city rich, rendered it so populous that they were obliged to extend its walls. Public roads were laid out leading to the *Casentino*, to *Bologna*, to *Prato*, and *Pistoia*, and each of those roads terminated in a most magnificent gate of the city. The *Florentines*, at the same time, erected pleasure-houses, for the first time, on the other side of the *Arno*; and these increased so much, that

they afterwards became part of the city, and were equally well fortified : here likewise three magnificent gates were erected, answering to three public roads, or causeways, leading to *Pisa*, *Sienna*, and *Arezzo*. This year *Charles of Anjou* died, after losing *Sicily*, and seeing his son the prince of *Salerno* a prisoner, in the hands of his capital enemy, *Peter of Aragon*, who could not, for all that, make himself master of *Naples*, to which he had the same title as to *Sicily*.

THE tranquillity of *Florence* was at last interrupted by the Ambition of the bishop of *Arezzo*, who seized and fortified a strong castle, called in the history of the times *Cecilia*, lying between the territories of *Arezzo* and *Sienna*, with a view of over-awing the *Siennese*, who, resenting this encroachment, called upon the *Florentines* for assistance. They readily sent them auxiliaries ; and the place, which was naturally very strong, was besieged in form, the prelate, who had got together a body of troops, not daring to relieve it. The garrison however made a vigorous defence for five months, when, being prest by famine, they endeavoured to escape : but being intercepted by their enemies, most of them were cut in pieces, and the castle itself was razed to the ground, so that scarcely any memorial of it now remains.

HONORIUS IV. an *Italian*, of the house of *Savelli*, was now pope. The emperor *Rodolph* had hitherto gained little or nothing by his pretended superiority over *Florence* ; and this pope is said to have encouraged him to make *Foscano*, a *Tuscan* nobleman, his deputy or governor there. *Foscano* accordingly repaired to *Florence*, and tried all the soothing arts he was master of, to induce them to submit to the imperial authority : but all was in vain ; both the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians* appeared more determined than ever against any such subjection, and *Foscano* was obliged to leave *Tuscany*, greatly mortified by his ill success. The *Arezzians*, about this time, in imitation of the *Florentines*, had put themselves under the protection of one *Guelpho*, whom they created their president of the artists. This person, who was a sworn enemy to the nobility, not only expelled them from the city, but, wherever he could, levelled their castles and their houses to the ground, and at last besieged *Civitella*, the residence of the bishop, whose name was *William*, and who was himself a noble *Arezzian*. This violence and barbarity united in one common interest the *Arezzian* nobility, though before greatly divided amongst themselves ; and they drove the president and his army back into the city, which they

took, dividing amongst themselves all the properties of their enemies. As to the president, they put out his eyes, and exposed him to all manner of public contempt. By this means the bishop, at the head of his own family, the *Paſſi*, and that of the *Ubertini*, became master of *Arezzo*, and expelled from thence all the commons, and such of the nobility as had formerly opposed him, or had only occasionally joined him. These applied, in the most pathetic manner, for assistance to the *Florentines*, who, nobly mindful of the long subsisting friendship between the two states, immediately called together the deputies of the *Lucqueſe*, and their other allies, and it was agreed to lend the *Arezzians* eighty horse for their assistance, fifty of whom they immediately received. This reinforcement enabled the *Arezzian* exiles to make incursions to the very walls of *Arezzo*, and to renew the war. The bishop, on his part, called to his assistance all his confederates, amongst whom were many discontented *Florentines*. Next year the war between *Arezzo* and *Florence* was renewed with greater fury than ever. The *Sieneſe* on this occasion joined the *Florentines*, whose warlike preparations were greater than had been known since their defeat at *Arbe*. The *Arezzians* were likewise very powerful, through great numbers of exiles, or rather malcontents, who joined them. These generally were nobility, who, disliking popular government, retired to the country, where, having great estates and followings, they lived in a kind of an independency upon the civil government. The *Florentine* army set out on its march the last day of *May*, and reduced a great many strong places, particularly *Laterino*, in their march to *Arezzo*, which they at last straitly besieged. Not being able to take the place, the *Sieneſe* and *Florentines* agreed to return home, each by the road leading to their own city. Their separation gave the besieged *Arezzians* an opportunity to make a sally upon the *Sieneſe*, who were completely defeated; and the *Florentines* thought proper, after some consultation, to leave their cavalry at *Laterino*, to restrain the excursions of the enemy, and to return home with their infantry.

THE *Florentines* may, at this time, be said to have been the patrons of popular liberty, not only in *Tuscany*, but all over *Italy*. Count *Ugolini* having expelled the heads of the people out of *Pisa*, particularly another *Ugolini*, his kinsman, the exiles applied to the *Florentines*, who gave them assistance and support against their enemies. In the mean while the bishop of *Arezzo*, and his faction, had driven the banished *Arezzians* into such distresses, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of *Carciano*, where they

but takes
Arezzo.

War with
the Arez-
zians.

Affairs of
Pisa.

they must have surrendered themselves, had they not applied by their deputies to the *Florentines* for assistance, which was instantly sent them, without waiting, as usual, to consult *The Flo-* with their allies. This generous reinforcement consisted of rentines eight hundred *Florentine* and two hundred mercenary horse, *succour the* and four thousand foot. The vast expedition with which this *Arezzian* army was raised, is a proof of the excellent government under which the *Florentine* state then was. Upon their approach *the Arezzians* raised the siege, and returned to *Arezzo*, where they received such reinforcements as rendered them greatly superior to the *Florentines*. The latter having gained the main end of their expedition, which was the relief of their allies, kept upon the defensive at *Laterino*. This gave their enemies an opportunity of extending their incursions even to *Florence* itself; and at last they laid siege to *Varico*, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword to *Collina*, which was but seven miles from *Florence*. The government there, understanding that many of their discontented nobility were in the *Arezzian* army, were suspicious of a correspondence between them and their friends in the city, and therefore redoubled their vigilance, without indulging their young citizens in the great desire they expressed to fall out and attack the enemy, who soon after raised the siege of *Varico*, and returned home loaded with plunder.

A. D.
1286.

NEXT year, in the spring, the *Florentines* meditated a severe revenge against the *Arezzians* for all their sufferings, and convoked a general assembly of their allies, who were the *Siennese*, the *Lucquesse*, the *Volterrans*, the *Pistoians*, the *Pratonese*, and several others. All these petty states, as well as *Florence* and the greater ones, had by this time entered into a kind of compromise with the emperor *Rodolph* (who found himself unable to reduce them) for their liberties, which consisted in the power of electing their own magistrates, raising their own troops, coining money, and modelling their own forms of government. Those privileges gave them as much independence as the emperor could bestow, and they are said to have been purchased by the *Florentines* at the expence of forty thousand golden ducats. This sum is a proof of the wealth and importance of *Florence* at this time, as *Lucca* gave but twelve thousand, and *Genoa* and *Bologna* but six thousand each, for the same privileges.

ALL the allies had their particular causes of hatred towards the *Arezzians*, who, on their side, were very powerful. They were joined by *Guido Ferentina*, who was at that time master of *Pisa*, and by great numbers of noblemen from *Umbria* and *Picento*, and all the *Florentine* malcontents. *Arezzo* was the

ren-

Prince of
Salerno
visits Flo-
rence.

rendezvous of their army. The bishop continued to be its general, and he was strongly supported by the powerful families of the *Paçci*, *Ubertini*, and *Tarlatti*. The opening of the campaign was attended, on the part of the *Florentines*, by the arrival of the prince of *Salerno*, son to *Charles* of *Anjou*, in their city. This prince had regained his liberty by the favour of queen *Constance*, and seems to have come to *Florence*, in his way to *Rome*, chiefly to know what assistance he could depend upon from the *Florentines* for recovering his father's crown. He was received in that city with extraordinary respect; but that was all he obtained, excepting a strong escort of *Florentine* horse, who attended him to the *Siennese* territories, to protect him from the insults of the *Arezzians*. *Charles*, before his departure, recommended to them an experienced officer, *Amerigo*, (perhaps *Americo*, of *Narbonne*, and the ancestor of the famous navigator *Americus*, who was a *Florentine*) to the *Florentines* for their general. They accepted of this recommendation; but nominated a council of six of their most eminent citizens, who were to attend him in the nature of field-deputies, and who were to approve of his operations. A council of war being held, it was agreed that the army should cross the *Arno*, and march by the *Casentino*, by which they fell into *Novello's* estates, and destroyed them, he having always taken part with their enemies. As the *Arezzians* had expected the *Florentines*, as usual, on the other side of the *Arno*, the latter had sufficient time for revenging upon their territories, towards the *Casentino*, all the devastations they had committed upon those of *Florence* the year before. The *Arezzians* were surprised at the boldness of their enemy's march through so mountainous a country; the first intimation of which they had was from the peasants, who fled in consternation from the desolated estates to *Arezzo*^b. The *Arezzian* army, upon this dismal intelligence, marched to *Bibbiena*; their numbers being eight thousand foot and nine hundred horse, commanded by the bishop and *Bono* of *Feretri*, and other excellent officers. This army was inferior to that of their enemies; but their generals had so great an opinion of its discipline and courage, that they resolved immediately to give battle, and were met with equal dispositions on the side of the *Florentines*. Both armies encountered on a plain, called by the inhabitants *Campaldini*; and neither interrupted the other in forming its order of battle. The *Florentines* placed their cavalry, in which they were strong, in their front. Their infantry formed the second line; and those two first

The *Arezzians* and
their allies
defeated,
and their
bishop
slain.

^b LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 62.

lines were flanked by archers, and such of the foot as carried shields, called in Latin *scutati*. A body of reserve of the *Pistoians*, and their other allies, under *Cursio Donati*, a *Florentine* knight, formed the third line. The disposition of the *Arezzians* was the same; but their troops were out-flanked by those of the *Florentines*.

• Both armies being drawn up in order of battle, a *Florentine* nobleman, one *Vario Circuli*, a man of great quality and fortune, set an example of patriotism and magnanimity, far more instructive to a generous mind than the relations of battles, and other operations of war. By the post he held in the army, he was to choose the squadron of horse that was to form the van, and to guard the grand standard; a service so dangerous, that the boldest in their army seemed to shrink from it. *Vario* being required to name his men, named first himself (though he was then ill of the gout), then his son, and then his grandson; but refused to name any more, giving for his reason, that "they who loved their country would offer themselves." This generous declaration produced such emulation through the *Florentines*, that they crowded for the glory of serving in the van, which that day consisted of one hundred and fifty horsemen, of whom twenty were knighted on the field of battle. The *Arezzian* cavalry, being better armed and disciplined, made so furious a charge on that of their enemies, that they drove them back on their infantry; but the *Arezzians* incautiously continuing their pursuit, they were, in a manner, inclosed by the right and left flanks of the *Florentine* army, while their own infantry was at too great a distance to support them. The *Arezzian* horse, however, made so gallant a resistance, that they were upon the point of being joined by their foot, when *Cursio Donati*, in disobedience of his orders, charged the enemy at the head of the *Pistoians* of the third line, with this noble expression, "If we die, we can fear no farther penalty; if we conquer, let our accuser impeach us at *Pistoia*." The attack he made upon the *Arezzians* was so critical and well-judged, that it turned the fortune of the day; for the *Arezzians* were every where cut in pieces, or betook themselves to flight. *Novello* was amongst the first who left the field, which the bishop obstinately kept, though he might have retreated with safety to *Bibienna*, saying he would never abandon those who had followed him into danger. At last, after performing amazing acts of valour, he was killed, together with *Bono* of *Feretri*, and many of the chief *Arezzian* nobility, with above three thousand of their common men, and about two thousand were

were taken prisoners. This battle was fought on the eighteenth of *June*, 1287.

Dante the
poet's ac-
count of
the battle.

THE above account of this memorable battle, taken from *Leonardi Aretini*, agrees perfectly well with the relation given of it by *Dante*¹, the celebrated poet, who was then a young man, and that day served in the *Florentine* army. He says, in one of his letters, that the slaughter made of the enemy threatened to exterminate the *Arezzian* name. The fruits of this victory were, the reduction of the town of *Bienna*, which was dismantled, and other places belonging to the *Arezzians*. Those advantages cost the victors dear, because, had they immediately after the battle marched against *Arezzo*, that city must have fallen into their hands; but the inhabitants now gaining eight days, in which they recovered from their consternation, they prepared for a vigorous defence. The *Florentines*, sensible of the oversight they had committed, sought to repair it; and even two of their presidents went into the trenches, a thing never heard of before, to encourage and direct the assailants. The besieged, however, taking advantage of a dark tempestuous night, sallied out, and burnt all the wooden towers that had been erected by the besiegers, who thereupon returned to *Florence*, where they were received in triumph; and the armour of the *Arezzian* bishop was hung up as a trophy in the ancient temple of *Mars*. When the *Florentine* magistracy wrote or spoke of this victory in public, they termed it their victory over the *Gibelins*, lest they should offend the delicacy of their *Arezzian* friends.

The Flo-
rentines
miscarry
in an at-
tempt upon
Arezzo.

THOSE successes seem to have inspired the *Florentines* with too great a passion for conquest. They sent, soon after their return, two thousand foot and four hundred horse to the assistance of the *Lucques* and *Pisan* exiles, without having any connection with them, but as they were sufferers for popular government. The exiles, with this assistance, wasted the *Pisan* territory; but could not take that city. *Tarlatti*, a nobleman of great distinction, was then master of *Arezzo*, which the malcontents within the city had agreed to betray to the *Florentines*, who for that purpose sent a strong body of horse to *Civitella*. The design, however, was discovered by one of the conspirators, who had been mortally wounded, to a priest, who discovered it to *Tarlatti*; and such measures were taken for the defence of the city, that the *Florentine* troops were obliged to return home.

A VAST improvement of the *Florentine* government took place this year. By its constitution the nobility was not excluded from posts of power and trust in the state; but a

¹ DANTE, Epist. xxi.

nobleman who was qualified to be a magistrate of *Florence*, was required to be of some particular trade; the law excluding all idle persons, plebeians as well as nobles, from being presidents. By this means an unnatural kind of a distinction arose in the state, that between property, which was in the nobles, and power, which was vested in the commoners, or rather artificers; for so the *Florentines* chose to call all kinds of tradesmen and merchants, as well as the professors of the fine arts, who were every day increasing in *Florence*. Many of the nobility, about this time, laying out their fortunes in commerce, had great returns of profit from *France, England, Germany*, and other nations. The riches they acquired made them impatient under the government of those whom they looked upon to be no better than mechanics; and sometimes they insulted them, while the magistrates were deterred, by the numerous clamours always attending those noblemen, from vindicating their own authority. For this reason the *Florentines* chose a new magistrate, who was to bear the standard of justice, and who afterwards was called the Gonfalonier of Justice; and his office was to call the people out to attend his standard, in all cases of the breach of the peace, which could not be remedied in the ordinary court of justice. This constitution took place seven years after that of the presidents of the artificers; but as it was a post of great power, the *Florentines* were excessively jealous of the exercise of it, and limited its duration in one person to two months, and none but a plebeian or commoner could exercise it. Four counsellors were appointed to assist him, two colonels to serve under him, and he was to command a thousand men, who were chosen out of the different wards of the city. That of *Scardi* furnished two hundred; that of *Transarmini* two hundred; and each of the other four wards one hundred and fifty. Those thousand soldiers were to serve for a year, and obliged, when required, to follow the standard of justice. None of the nobility could be of the number, and severe penalties were inflicted on all who should obstruct or threaten them. But this formidable military force was to be under the direction of the civil magistrate; nor could it be arrayed by the gonfalonier, without an order from the presidents, or in any other case but in that abovementioned.

THE *Florentines* that same year gave another proof of their wise vigilance over public liberty, by making a law that no president should be re-chosen in a shorter time than three years after his former magistracy was expired. The reason *Arctin*^k assigns for this institution is, that the posts of honour

^k LEONARDI ARETINI, Hist. Flor. p. 65. Ib. p. 67.

in the state might be accessible to the greater number of citizens.

A. D. 1288. *Expedition against Arezzo.* WHILE the *Florentines* were thus concerting the means of preserving their constitution, they still were possessed of a spirit for foreign conquests; and next year, viz. 1288, they again invaded the territories of *Arezzo*, and destroyed *Novello's* estates in the *Casentino*; but being unable to take *Arezzo*, they and their confederates returned home, after an unmanly expedition against a defenceless country. The season of the campaign, however, not being over, at their return they and the *Lucquese*, with their confederate cities, renewed their league with the *Genoese* against *Pisa*; and the *Genoese* being possessed of forty galleys, the *Pisians*, who were their rivals in commerce, received many fatal blows. *Leghorn* at that time belonged to *Pisa*; and the confederates not only took it, but sunk two ships loaded with ballast in the mouth of the harbour, to obstruct its navigation. The *Florentines*, we are told, at the same time took and garrisoned several places belonging to the enemy near *Arezzo*. But no sooner did the *Florentine* army return home, than *Guido* of *Feretri*, the *Pisan* general, without any loss, retook all the places the *Pisians* had lost. Not contented with that, in the dead of winter, *Guido* surprised and made himself master of a strong fortification, which the *Florentines* had erected near *Arezzo*. Till that time the *Florentines* had served in the wars against *Pisa* as the allies of the *Lucquese*; but they now declared themselves to be principals. Their military virtues, however, at this period, do not appear to be equal to their civil; and to say the truth, the art of war was then very low all over *Italy*. Early in the spring the *Florentines*, as it were, stung with rage, snatching up their arms, again invaded the territories of *Pisa*, and, as usual, laid waste the open country; but the rains prevented their farther progress, and they were obliged to return home. Those and the other expeditions they undertook about this time were so tumultuary, and so ill-conducted, that the names of their generals are not preserved in history. Upon the return of their army to *Florence*, the *Florentines* began to see the necessity of having a man of military reputation at the head of their troops; but they seem to have been somewhat shy of entrusting so great a power with one of their own countrymen. They therefore chose *Gerardo Ursini*, a *Roman* nobleman, to be their general; and he brought along with him some disciplined troops from the *campagna* of *Rome*. We know, however, of no great success he had in the field; for though the *Florentine* troops, and those of their allies, who now joined them, were very numerous, and exasperated beyond

their idle
expedi-
tions.

yond measure against the *Pisans*, yet *Guido of Feretri*, who commanded at *Pisa*, giving them no opportunity to fight, all that the confederates could do was to insult their enemies within their walls, renew their ravages upon the open country, and then return home.

It appears, from the *Florentine* historians, that their nobility at this time were too powerful to be restrained by the new office of gonfalonier. The spirit of crusading was then ~~ever in Italy~~, and it was filled with soldiers of fortune and idle people, whom the great riches of the *Florentine* nobility enabled to take into their pay; and thus two factions still continued in the state, that of the nobility, and that of the plebeians. The magistracy itself, being partly composed of nobility, was not sufficiently active in suppressing the tyranny of that order, and every day produced some new insult upon the people; so that it was evident to the more discerning *Florentines*, that the moment the nobility were united amongst themselves, they would become masters of the government. On the other hand, one cannot read the *Florentine* historians of this time, without more than suspecting, that the people were too much intoxicated with the thoughts of their own importance, and that they often complained without reason. One *Janus Labella*, of a decayed but illustrious family at *Flo-*rence, undertook the patronage of the people on this occasion: and perhaps the fallen lustre of his family somewhat influenced his acrimony against the powerful nobility. Being a man of eloquence and abilities, he found means to convocate a general assembly of the citizens in the town-hall, where he laid open the danger the liberties of the people were exposed to by the power of the nobility, and proposed that the military establishment under the gonfalonier should be increased to four thousand men, and that he should reside in the town-house or guild-hall along with the presidents. He likewise proposed to exclude the most powerful of the nobility, even such of them as exercised trades, from being presidents.

THIS speech was heard with great applause, and agreed to; and many noble families, both within and without the city, were not only immediately disqualified from the magistracy, but the presidents were invested with a power of disqualifying others, if they thought proper. When the next election of magistrates took place, *Janus* was chosen a president, and *Baldo Ruffoli* gonfalonier. Being a man of spirit, and having now four thousand men under his command, he began the exercise of his magistracy with an act of justice; for hearing that a plebeian had been put to death by a noble-

man

man of the family of the *Galli*, he drove them out of the state, demolished their houses, and laid waste their lands. This vigour struck such terror into the nobility, that they grew more moderate; and the people at the same time began to alter their system, which hitherto had been too warlike. They considered that their new form of government was yet in its infancy, and that their nobility always gained ground in time of war; they therefore listened to a proposal for peace made by the *Pisans*¹, who were now greatly reduced. This pacific disposition of the *Florentines* astonished and disconcerted the *Lucqueses*, and their other allies; but all their remonstrances were in vain. The *Florentines* named two of their citizens, *Guadagni* and *Paradisi*, for their plenipotentiaries, and they rather prevailed than made a peace. Some of the terms were, that all the exiled *Pisans* should be reinstated in their fortunes and privileges; that the *Pisans* should chuse their magistrates only from the states that were in alliance with *Florence*; and that the *Florentines* should have free liberty of exporting and importing their commodities to all the territories and harbours belonging to *Pisa*. It was likewise stipulated, that *Guido* of *Feretri* and all his troops should be dismissed from the service of *Pisa*.

Their
tranquility
and mag-
nificence.

A. D.
1291.

THOSE and a great many other stipulations appeared so hard to the *Pisans*, that it was with great difficulty they were carried into execution. After this, *Florence* enjoyed a state of tranquility for a whole year. Two *Florentine* popes were created about this time, *Celestine V.* and *Boniface VIII.* The latter was one of the most haughty pontiffs that ever filled the papal throne. About the same time the *Florentines* built their magnificent church of the *Holy Cross* at *Firence*, in a taste and with a grandeur uncommon to that age. They were, however, corrupted by the prosperity and tranquility they enjoyed, and both magistracy and people were equally infected. The great credit which their patriot *Labella* had now obtained in the government, had procured him vast envy from many of the plebeians, as well as all the nobility; and his enemies had interest enough to chuse some of their own number to be presidents of the republic. A fray happened, in which a plebeian was killed; and the nobleman who had been tried for the murder was acquitted, after a legal trial. This acquittal left no room for the interposition of the gonfalonier's power; but the people, running to arms, accused the judges of corruption, and marched to *Labella's* house, demanding that he would head them. His advice was, that they should apply to the presidents, and obey their directions^m.

¹ LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 69. ^m Ib. p. 71.

The headstrong mob, instead of following his counsel, ran to the town-house, broke open its doors, and committing a vast number of other violences, the enemies of *Labella* pretended that all their irregularities had proceeded from his direction. They were supported by the great credit and influence of the nobility, and *Labella* was accused before the presidents, who were his enemies, of treason against the state. His authority amongst the people was so great, that a civil war might have ensued; but *Labella* prevented it by a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest patriot that *Greece* or *Rome* ever produced, by chusing a voluntary *Labella* banishment, rather than disturb the tranquility of the state. *banished*. Before his departure, he publicly embraced his friends in the most affectionate manner, bidding them adieu. His brother *Taddo* and his grandson *Raincrio* were banished at the same time, and their estates and houses laid waste.

THIS ingratitude, the reigning disease of popular government, had almost ruined the republic of *Florence*. *Labella* break out had always been considered as the bulwark of the people against the nobility, who, seeing him and his friends driven into banishment, thought nothing could then resist them. They met in a body; they agreed to compose all differences amongst themselves, to lay the hardships they suffered before the magistracy; and, if they did not find redress, to have recourse to force. They accordingly made their application to the presidents; but found to their surprise a resistance on the part of the people, that they called out their followers, and put themselves in arms. They were easily distinguished from the commons by the beauty of their horses, the splendour of their arms, and their armorial bearings, which were richly embroidered on their upper habits. They divided themselves into three bodies, of whom one took its stand at the ancient temple of *Mars*, another at the New Exchange or Square, and the third at the end of the Upper Bridge across the *Arno*. The people, no way daunted at this military appearance, barricaded the streets; and whenever the nobility began to move, showered upon them darts and stones from the tops and windows of their houses; so that the others were obliged to remain on the defensive. At last, some moderate citizens interposing, the nobility laid down their arms; and the people, at the persuasion of the presidents, gave up a very few inconsiderable points; on which both parties retired for that time in peace. Such, however, was the antipathy between the two orders, that the plebeians, reflecting on what they had done, upbraided their presidents with the concessions they had prevailed on them to make; and not only insulted them when

they went out of their office, but in a manner obliged their successors to revoke all the concessions that had been made to the nobility.†

Labella's
recal pro-
posed.

THEY even went farther, and, according to their usual inconstancy, they proposed the recalling *Labella* from banishment. They attributed to his absence all the late attempts of the nobility; and the latter, considering themselves as being undone, applied for protection to pope *Boniface VIII.* who, glad of every opportunity to exert or extend his power, ordered the people of *Florence*, on pain of his displeasure, not to recal *Labella*, whom he termed a fomenter of sedition amongst the citizens, or any of his friends, to *Florence*. The *Florentines* were then too great slaves to papal power to dispute this order; and thus that worthy patriot was suffered to die in exile, his very enemies compassionating his fateⁿ.

He dies in
exile.

A. D.
1298.
Magnifi-
cent works
erected by
the Flo-
rentines,

AN interval of tranquility succeeded for about two years, during which the noble genius of the *Florentine* plebeians appeared with amazing lustre. Their first care was to renew their engagements with the neighbouring states, and they took *Perugia* into the confederacy. They then applied themselves at once to strengthen and to adorn their state and city. They built the towns of *St. Giovanni* and *Franco*, on the opposite banks of the *Arno*. They erected, for the residence of their presidents and magistrates, a most magnificent new town-house, their former one being too weak to protect them from the insults of the nobility. This palace, the noblest perhaps at that time in *Europe*, was erected partly upon the ground of forfeited estates, and partly upon the sites of other houses, which were purchased by the public for that purpose. They next completed the fortifications of their city, by carrying round it a long strong wall, with towers and bastions at proper distances; and, lastly, they laid out five thousand crowns in erecting a commodious airy prison, which was built upon the ground of forfeited estates. Those splendid works, and the flourishing state of commerce at *Florence*, rendered the *Florentines* now so respectable, that the people of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, then at war with one another, offered to refer their differences to their arbitration. The *Florentines*, by permission of the pope, accepted of the office; but under his patronage and direction, he pretending that the two cities, as being fiefs of the Holy See, depended upon him. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, sent no fewer than seven ambassadors, partly nobility, and partly plebeians, to his holiness, and in a short time composed all their differences. We are now come to the

who me-
diate be-
tween the
Bolognese
and the
Ferrarese.

A. D. 1300. year 1300, when pope *Boniface VIII.* celebrated the first centennial jubilee ever known in the christian world.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the History of the Civil Wars of Florence between the Nobility and the People; the Surpations of the Popes upon their Liberties; their Leagues with the other States of Tuscany; their Election of Prince Robert of Naples for their General; and their Wars with the neighbouring States, particularly with the famous Castruccio Castruccani of Lucca.

IN the year 1200 there flourished at Pistoia, a noble family, *New divisions in* commonly called *Cancellieri*; the branches of which, being at variance with one another, were distinguished by the ridiculous appellations of the Whites and the Blacks, and daily skirmishes and murders happened between the two parties; so that Pistoia was in danger of being destroyed, when the Florentines, its ancient allies, offered their assistance towards restoring its tranquility. This being accepted by the Pistoians, the only expedient the Florentines could devise for that purpose was to oblige both parties to remove to Florence; but as *Arctin* elegantly observes, *Florence was rather infected than Pistoia cured by the measure*. The families thus removed, communicated their rivalments to many Florentine families with whom they had intermarried; and Florence, in a short time, became as much divided between the Whites and the Blacks as Pistoia had been before, and was equally filled with tumults, family being divided against family, brother against brother, and father against son; and thus the *Guelphs* split into parties.

GREAT heart-burnings had for some time been harboured by the rival families of the *Circuli* and the *Donati*; but they now broke out into action, the former taking part with the Whites, and the latter with the Blacks. The more moderate nobility and citizens, to prevent the consequences, applied to the pope, who enjoined *Vario Circuli*, the head of that family, to accommodate matters with *Cursio Donati*; but all was to no purpose: civil broils ensued, blood was shed, and the city filled with armed troops. Florence being in so dangerous a situation, the pope sent his legate to compose matters; but the *Circuli*, who were it seems the most powerful party, refusing to stand to his award, he put the city under an inter-

dict, and left it. After his departure, greater violence was committed than ever; for the parties, now throwing off all reverence for government, no longer fought accidentally, and in a tumultuous manner; but drew up in regular bodies, one against another, in squadrons and companies. The great dependence of the *Donati*, who were of the black party, was upon *Cursio Donati*, esteemed the best soldier in *Florence*; and he answered their expectations, by always leading his party to victory. The *Circuli*, however, had the greatest interest in the magistracy, whom they prevailed upon to send a deputation to his holiness, requesting his interposition for restoring the tranquillity of their city. The *Donati* no sooner heard of this resolution than they again took arms, accused the magistrates of betraying the independency of the city, and threatened to punish them; and thus civil dissension flamed higher than ever.

Advice of
Dante the
poet.

DANTE the poet happened that year to be one of the presidents, and being a man of great resolution, as well as eloquence, he had more sway than any other with his colleagues. He had the spirit to advise them to call the citizens in general to arms, and then to punish and expel from *Florence* the disturbers of her peace. This advice was followed. *Cursio Donati* was exiled, and his goods confiscated, for having threatened the magistrates. The proceedings against his abettors and friends were more moderate; they being only fined and sent to *Perugia*, where they were ordered to remain for some time, till they should be recalled by the people. Others of the nobility were likewise censured; but more for form-sake than justice. Some of their heads, amongst whom was *Guido Cavalcanti*, a *Florentine* philosopher of great learning and knowledge in the fine arts; were sent to *Seranza*; from whence, however, they were quickly recalled; but *Cavalcanti* died soon after.

Cursio
Donati's
intrigues.

A. D.
1302.

CURSIO DONATI was not idle during his exile. He went to the pope, and by his address, eloquence, and assiduity, he prevailed with his holiness to interpose in the affairs of *Florence*, though he and his party had been expelled for opposing that very resolution. The pope, therefore, prevailed upon *Charles* of *Valois*, brother to the king of *France*, *Philip* the Fair, to march into *Italy*, and to take upon him the pacification of *Tuscany*, where the *Pisians*, the *Lucqueses*, and other cities confederated with *Florence*, were still filled with blood and tumult on account of the two parties. His holiness was then at *Anagni*, where he gave his charge to *Charles*, who set out for *Florence* about the middle of *September*, attended by a body of regular troops. The faction of
the

the Whites, who were now masters of Florence, not expecting an armed mediation, were terribly disconcerted with the arrival of Charles, who was suspected of having entered into private terms with Curcio. Being however professedly Guelphs, Valois enim, they did not chuse to deny him admittance into their city; ters Florence. but received him, when he was near the gates, with vast honours and rejoicings. Charles, some days after his entrance, behaved with great modesty and appearance of justice. He ordered his troops to lay aside their arms, and never to appear in bodies, and calling a general meeting of the magistracy and people, he prevailed with them to give him full powers to regulate them as he pleased. After this, he took an oath that he would make no other use of this power, than to restore justice and tranquility to the state; but no sooner was he established in the government than he appeared in public, and upon his tribunal, surrounded by a formidable body of his guards under arms.

It is difficult, at this time, to assign the true motive of His conduct. Charles's conduct on this occasion. The most probable conjecture is, that he gave encouragement to both parties, yet assisted neither; that the citizens might be so weakened as to invite him to take upon himself the perpetual government of Florence, which would soon be followed by that of all Tuscany. For when Charles appeared attended with his guards, the people of all factions ran to arms; but being without any plan or leader, they durst not attack him, and he remained on his tribunal without offering to disperse them. In the mean while Curcio Donati, with a body of men, broke into Florence, and, being joined by his friends there, they marched to the public hall where they deposed the presidents, and degraded them to the rank of private persons. After this, the now prevailing party proceeded against their antagonists with fire and sword; Charles appearing all the while as an unconcerned spectator, and without any emotion hearing the reproaches of the people against him. Though the return and the triumphs of the Donati undoubtedly were effected by his connivance or direction, yet he entered secretly into treaty with the opposite faction; which the magistracy and people discovering, the Donati found means to drive into exile the heads of the Circuli and their abettors; and thus the Blacks remained masters of the Florentine magistracy.

In the mean while the pope's legate returned to Florence; Hostilities and the hostilities between the two parties, not being confined rage more within the walls of the city, had filled all its territory with than ever conflagrations and murders. The legate sought to reconcile in Florence the two parties; but was so violently opposed by the Donati, re-
that

that he laid the city under a fresh interdict, and left it. Amongst the leaders of the exiled faction was the poet *Dante*, whose fate was particularly severe and unjust. He had, on account of his great abilities, been sent ambassador to the pope by the *Florentines*, to inform his holiness of the true state of their affairs, and to propose a plan of accommodation; but the *Donati* getting the better in *Florence*, he was, in his absence, accused and condemned, his house was rifled, and his estates were plundered. As to *Charles* himself, he seems intirely to have mistaken his measure. The pope grew jealous of him, or, at least, did not support him sufficiently to make good the government or vicariate of *Tuscan* he had given him; and, after nine months abode at *Florence*, he recalled him to expel the *Spaniards* out of *Sicily*.

Charles
leaves
Florence,
where the
Donati
prevail.

His departure left the *Donati*, or black faction, nothing to fear; and they immediately resolved to drive the Whites from *Pistoia*, where they were most numerous. For this purpose they joined their forces with the *Lucchese*; but all they could do was to defeat the scattered parties of the exiled Whites; and, after taking some of their castles, they returned to *Florence* with great shew of victory and triumph. That city was then in an unhappy situation; for though it had reverted to its popular form of government, yet, in fact, it received law from the *Donati*, who put several of the principal citizens to death, and drove others into exile, on pretence of their conspiring against the public liberty. They soon experienced the bad policy of this proceeding; for the exiles became so numerous as to be formidable to the governing party at *Florence*, who were far from being united amongst themselves. The *Bolognese* took part with the exiles, and the confederacy amongst them being formed, they raised a great army, with which they marched against *Florence*, hoping, through the civil disputes in the city, to become masters of it. The citizens, however, hearing of the approach of the enemy, summoned the *Lucchese* and their ancient allies to their assistance, and boldly marched out to give battle to the enemy, who were waiting in hopes that the gates of the city would be opened to them; so great was their dependence upon its intestine commotions. Being disappointed, consternation succeeded their confidence, and they took flight without fighting, leaving the *Florentines* in possession of their camp and many noble prisoners, most of whom were put to death at *Florence*.

They defeat
the Bolog-
nese.

A. D.
1304. THE succeeding year the *Florentines* and the *Lucchese* again laid siege to *Pistoia*; but they neither were able to take it, nor to bring the enemy to a battle. The civil wars at now pre-

prevailed over all *Tuscany*, with the inclemency of the seasons, had introduced a famine among the *Florentines*, who were obliged to purchase with ready money twenty-seven thousand measures of corn from *Sicily* and *Calabria*. But no sooner was

A famine in Florence.

Florence freed from famine, than the relaxation into domestic distractions. *Cursio Donati*, thinking himself neglected by his fellow-citizens, and that he was not sufficiently preferred in the government, moved that the state of the public money should be altered to the people. Though it had been greatly

Discontent of Cursio Donati.

embèzzled, yet the motion was unseasonable, and made only upon seditious motives, to bring certain leading magistrates to punishment, for obstructing his ambition. The measure, however, was so plausible, that *Egthario P.*, bishop of *Florence*, at first befriended it; and the malcontents of both parties, who were very numerous, united under *Cursio*. But the real views of the latter appearing, the bishop employed all his interest against the motion; and not only the magistrates, but the other heads of the *Donati* family, put themselves in arms against *Cursio*. His party was still so prevalent, that, after a vast number of robberies and murders had been committed on both sides, the *Lucques* were forced to interpose, by marching into *Florence* such an army as must have turned the scale of victory in favour of the faction they espoused. But they acted with great moderation; and partly by threats, and partly by persuasions, they in some measure restored the public tranquillity. They next applied themselves to reform and prevent the abuses of government, and twelve presidents were elected instead of six.

BENEDICT, who was then upon the papal throne, took it amiss that these commotions should be appeased without his intervention, and sent *Nicholas* of *Prato*, a cardinal, as his legate to *Florence*. This prelate, examining into the grounds of the late differences, took part with the people, whom he persuaded to divide themselves into twenty companies, each company to have a gonfalonier, or standard-bearer, a colonel, and a standard adorned with the arms and badges of the company. Severe penalties were decreed against all who did not follow their respective standards as soon as they appeared in public. Each gonfalonier was to hold his place for six months, and, while the standard was abroad, no person who followed it was to go to his own home. This last regulation was made, in order to deter the nobility from enrolling themselves into the companies. Each gonfalonier was to assist the members of his own company by force of arms, if the case

legate to Florence:

he now-
models its
govern-
ment;

required it, against the oppressions of the great; and if a nobleman killed a plebeian, the next relation of the deceased, if poor, was to be assisted with money to revenge his kinsman's death, at the expence of the company to which he belonged; but if one plebeian killed another, the survivor was to be delivered up to the common courts of justice. The like institutions took place in the *Florentine* territories without the city.

but fails in
his main
purpose,

THE legate having, by those regulations, obtained a great degree of popularity in *Florence*, proceeded to execute the principal design of his legation, which was to persuade the citizens to recall the *Circuli*, and the other exiles, from their banishment. The chief of them resided at *Arezzo*; and amongst them were *Dante* the poet, and the father of *Petrarch*, the other famous *Tuscan* poet of that age, who was born at *Arezzo* during his father's exile. *Vario Circuli* was at the same time there; and by his advice the exiles, who continued to be very numerous, had chosen *Alexander*, count of *Romena*, to be their head. The legate did not find the *Florentines* inexorable on this head; but the affair turned out to be more difficult than was at first imagined. The exiles committed their concerns to the legate, who might easily have succeeded in restoring the white party; but insisting upon the *Gibelin* exiles being restored at the same time, he succeeded in neither, though he was supported in both by a strong party of nobility and commons within the city. The exiles had appointed a deputation to wait upon the legate; but while the treaty was going forward, they pretended an invitation under the legate's own hand, which they produced; but whether a genuine or forged, our author does not determine. It was in vain for the legate to make the most solemn protestations of his innocence and good intentions; for at once he lost his popularity, and was obliged to retire to *Prato*. He found no shelter there; and returning to *Florence*, he attempted to prevail with the citizens to undertake an expedition against *Prato*. The *Florentines* discovered, or thought they discovered, that the army he wanted to raise was to be employed against their liberties, and refusing to obey him, he was forced to leave *Florence*, and repair to his master the pope. His departure was followed by a fresh eruption of civil dissensions, in which *Cursio Donati* took no part, he having lost his friends, who were strengthened by the accession of two great families, that of the *Funii* and the *Medici*. The two parties took and, after many partial skirmishes, they came to a general

engagement between the old and new exchanges, and about the corn-market. The north wind blew at that time very strong against the quarter where the houses of the white faction stood, which one *Nerio Abbati*, of the black party, observing, he set the houses of the *Caponsacci* on fire; and the flames spread with such fury, that they consumed seventeen hundred houses, and was stopt only by the interposition of the *Arno*. His vast loss falling on the trading quarter of the city, quantities of the rich merchandizes and commodities there destroyed is incredible; and the violence with which the flames proceeded, made the common people believe the conflagration was assisted by enchantment.

THE party of the Whites was now utterly subdued within the city; but the cardinal began, exasperated at the affronts he had met with, represented the *Florentines* in so odious a light to the pope, that he summoned twelve of the principal gentlemen of the city, amongst whom was *Cursio Donati*, to appear before his tribunal at *Perugia*, where he then was. The *Florentines* long debated whether they should obey this summons, which seemed to be intended to give the Whites a favourable opportunity to re-enter the city, during the absence of their chief enemies. But at last, rather than be thought guilty, they obeyed it, and set out with magnificent retinues to *Perugia*. Their apprehensions, however, were well-grounded. No sooner were they arrived, and had entered upon the vindication of their conduct, than the legate privately wrote to the heads of the other party, advising them to seize on that opportunity of reinstating themselves in the city. They accordingly assembled, to the number of nine thousand foot; and seventeen hundred horse, great part of whom were *Bolognese* and *Armenians*. They marched so secretly, that they came to the gates of *Florence*, without being discovered, about sun-set, and actually forced their way into the city. But they were not unanimous: the Whites were jealous of their confederates, who were *Gibelins*; and they began to debate upon the manner of their proceeding. This created delay, which gave the citizens time to collect their strength, and they attacked their invaders so briskly, that they drove them out of the city before the *Bolognese* troops, who had been left at some distance, could come up to support them. In their retreat some were killed; but they were joined near *Mugelli* by a reinforcement of three hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, all *Pislian* under *Uberti*, who was himself a *Florentine* exile. Nothing, however, could re-animate them after their late disappointment; and thus the enterprize came to nothing.

The Flo-
rentines
renew
their con-
federacy
with their
neighbours.

IN the mean while pope *Benedict* died, and the *Florentine* deputies, after complaining to the cardinals of the legate's treachery, returned to *Florence*. On examining into the state of their affairs, and the strength of their enemies, they thought proper to renew and extend their confederacy with all the neighbouring states of the *Guelf* party, which comprehended those of *Lucca*, *Volterra*, *Sienna*, *Pistoia*, *Gemigliani*, *Colle*, and *Civita Castellana*. This alliance being formed, the confederates resolved to chuse a general command the whole of the troops, that they might act with more effect, and they pitched upon prince *Robert*, eldest son to *Charles* king of *Naples*. The conditions of his command were, that he should have no preclusion in the civil government of the confederate states, but that he should have the command of their armies; that he should reside constantly in *Tuscany* for a whole year; that the confederates should maintain the cavalry he was to bring along with him, and contribute in proportion to their abilities, towards a revenue for himself. In this contribution the *Florentines*, as the most powerful, had the greatest share, and the *Lucchese* the next to them. Early in the following spring, *Robert* arrived in *Tuscany*, at the head of a small, but well-disciplined, body of horse, and taking upon him the command of the allied army, he laid siege to *Pistoia*.

THE reader, in the course of this history, will perceive how awkward the *Florentines* were, indeed all the people of *Italy* were at that time, in the art of besieging towns; and that they seldom attempted a siege in which they succeeded. This was not so much owing to the strength of the places, as to the unskilfulness of the assailers, who were destitute of engines. *Pistoia* had within it a strong garrison, and the place was well defended, so that the siege was converted into a blockade, which lasted four months. In the mean while, *Clement V.* who had been chosen pope, sent two legates into *Tuscany*, to dissuade *Robert* and the confederates from continuing their hostilities against *Pistoia*. *Robert* immediately desisted, as did all the confederates, except the *Florentines* and *Lucchese*, who, in contempt of the papal authority, obstinately continued the blockade. Upon this the States of *Florence* and *Lucca* were, by the legates, laid under an interdict. Notwithstanding this, the siege, or rather blockade, of *Pistoia* continued ten months, till the besieged began to be pressed by famine and want of necessities; the only engines the besiegers knew how to apply. In vain the *Pistoians* endeavoured to send their women and useless mouths out of the city, for they were driven back by the besiegers; and the *Pistoians*

Pistoians were obliged at last to capitulate; but the only terms they could obtain were, that the exiles, within the place might depart in safety, and that no punishment should be inflicted upon the inhabitants. This taking of *Pistoia* is *Pistoia* a memorable æra in the *Florentine* history, and happened in the year 1306^d. The conquerors no sooner got possession of it than they dismantled all its fortifications, and divided its houses and territories amongst themselves. The confederate army next laid siege to *Acciani*, a very strong place belonging to the family of the *Ubaldi*, where most of the exiles had taken refuge. They besieged this place for three months; but they could not have taken it, had not the defendants fallen at variance amongst themselves, and surrendered it for a sum of money. The place was dismantled, and razed to the ground, and the inhabitants removed to a neighbouring valley, where they built for themselves a town, afterwards called *Scarpanti*.

THIS year was created in *Florence* a new magistrate, under the title of the executor of justice. Great part of the power of the gonfalonier was transferred to him; and that he might be the more disinterested, it was enacted, that the office should not be held by a native of *Florence*, or of *Tuscany*. The same year the companies of *Florence* were reduced from twenty to nineteen. Cardinal *Nicholas* of *Prato*, the same who had been the pope's legate in *Florence*, was now in high favour with pope *Clement*, who owed his election to the popedom to him. This cardinal never had lost sight of his favourite scheme of restoring the *Florentine* exiles; and he persuaded the pope to send cardinal *Neapoli*, who was of the noble family of the *Ursini*, as his legate to *Florence*, to compose all the disquiets of *Tuscany*. The cardinal having passed the *Alps*, sent a messenger to *Florence*, signifying his approach, and ordering preparations to be made for his reception, and that of his retinue. This produced a consultation amongst the *Florentine* magistracy, who, says my author, having experienced that the residence of legates amongst them had always rather inflamed than allayed their civil dissensions, resolved to refuse him admittance into their city. The legate therefore was obliged to retire to *Cesena*, where he put *Florence* under an interdict. But the *Florentines* knew now how to sport with the papal bolts; and the legate rentines marching to *Arezzo*, put himself at the head of a large body of horse and foot, chiefly composed of the *Florentine* exiles, intending to force his entrance into *Florence*. Upon this the

^d LE ARDI ARE'INI Hist. Flor. p. 83.

^e Ibid. p. 84.

The History of Florence.

Florentines, calling in their confederates to their assistance, laid siege to the castle of *Garganza*, where great numbers of the exiles were assembled. This gave the legate an opportunity of advancing towards *Florence*; but the *Florentine* army returning from the siege, he retired to *Arezzo*, and soon after, finding all his endeavours unsuccessful, he returned to *France*.

THERE is somewhat singular in the state of *Florence* at this time. The inhabitants had, upon the one hand, distinguished themselves in defence of the holy see, and in glorifying being its votaries, and yet the popes of late had never gained one point which they thought might tend to the prejudice of their freedom or interest. In fact, they professed themselves *Guelfs*, because it was the most convenient party for them to espouse, without having one grain of regard for the papal authority. Though the papal thunders now roared more furiously than ever above their heads, yet so greatly were they disregarded by the *Florentines*, that they multiplied tax on tax upon the ecclesiastics, so indifferently themselves for the expences they had been at in the late war.

A. D.
1307.
Cursio
Donati
killed.

NEXT year, 1307, war free from foreign wars, but filled with domestic contentions. *Cursio Donati* still remained dissatisfied, and was the patron of all the malcontents. He had about him that kind of stubborn virtue which is ill suited to a popular government; for, instead of courting honours, he imagined that honours ought to court him. His magnanimity, however, and the ready refuge which distress always found in him, but above all his profest opposition to the nobility, procured him vast popularity, which, at the same time, his enemies gave out he intended to employ to the subversion of public liberty. Their report was somewhat countenanced by his marrying the daughter of *Fagiolani*, a nobleman of great power and authority, which, they said, were to be applied to make *Cursio* master of *Florence*. The people believed the report from the appearances that favoured it, and *Cursio* was cited to appear before the magistracy. He was now the most unpopular man in *Florence*; but still he was backed by some friends, from the opinion they had of his personal virtues. Conscious of his innocence, and at the same time of the power of his adversaries, he refused to appear before the magistrates; and in one day he was accused, cited, and condemned. Knowing the fate to which he was destined, he fortified his house, which the magistrates, seconded by all the power of the city, besieged and stormed, after a valiant resistance of some hours, and *Cursio*, in endeavouring to make his escape, was killed. After his death,

both

both the people and magistracy repented of their proceedings. No process was held against his estate or family; and, too late, they reflected that no accusation, except the hasty one which had procured his death, had ever been brought against him.

THE *Arezzians*, for some time, had been under the Gibe-
 rin government; but having expelled the family of the Tar-
 lati, they renewed their ancient confederacy with the Floren-
 tines at the beginning of the year 1308. About the same
 time the *Florentines* interposed to quell some seditions at *Prato*,
 which had been fomented by the *Pistoians*, who were exasperated at the *Luccese*, for pressing the *Florentines* to the utter
 demolition of *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* generously rejected
 this proposal, and even agreed that the *Pistoians* should have
 liberty to rebuild their fortifications, which they did in a very
 short time, by the assistance of their religious, their young,
 and their aged of both sexes. Mean while the *Tarlatti*, by
 the assistance of *Fagiolani*, again got footing in *Arezzo*, from
 whence they expelled their enemies, who were patronized
 by the *Florentines*. And thus fire and sword again raged in
 the territories of *Arezzo*.

THOUGH the *Florentines*, as we have seen, resolutely op-
 posed all attempts made by the papal see against their inde-
 pendency, yet they were very ready to vindicate and assist the
 authority of his holiness in all matters that were indifferent to
 them. They therefore this year sent a body of troops to the
 assistance of the papal legate, who was at war with the *Ve-
 netians*, over whom he gained a complete victory, by means
 of that reinforcement. Upon this his holiness off took his inter-
 dict from *Florence*, which now became his favourite city.
 That same year the *Florentines* were chosen arbiters by the
 inhabitants of *Gemmiani* and *Volterra*, who had been long at
 war on account of their limits, which were now settled by
 the *Florentines*, to the satisfaction of both parties. Towards
 the close of the year, the *Florentines* sent three hundred horse
 and six hundred foot to the assistance of their allies of *Ci-
 vita Castellana*, who were oppressed by the domineering *Ca-
 stellani*. As those troops were to march through the
 territories of the *Arezzians*, their expedition might have
 proved fatal, had it not been for the madness of the *Arez-
 zians*, who, underestimating how despicable the *Florentine* force
 was, attacked them on their march to *Cortona*, but in so
 irregular and tumultuous a manner that the *Florentines* ob-
 tained a complete victory.

NEXT summer, the *Florentines* and their allies, being joined
 by the *Arezzian* exiles, marched against *Arezzo*, and be-
 sieged

A. D.
 1309.

and besiege
Arezzo. sieged it. During the siege, Henry of Luxemburg, who had lately been chosen emperor, sent ambassadors to Florence, who demanded an audience of the magistracy. This being granted, the purpose of the embassy was declared to be, that the Florentines should prepare to receive in their city Henry, who was about to march into Italy, at the head of a vast army, and that they should desist from the siege of Arezzo. According to Ricobaldi of Ferrara, who lived near those times^a, the Florentines and the Bolognese, and the other Guelphs of Italy, had secretly entered into a league not to obey Henry. This confederacy seems to be confirmed by Aretin^b, who tells us that the Florentines, in answer to the ambassadors, expressed their surprise that a Roman emperor should carry his barbarians into Italy, and at the same time justified the war they had undertaken against Arezzo. Henry's ambassadors delivered the same message to the Arezzians, and received much the same answer. The campaign, as usual, ended in depopulating the neighbouring country, and the Florentines returned to their own city.

By this time the emperor had advanced as far as the lake Lemano at the head of his army, and that news led the Florentines into very serious consultations. However despicable the strength of Florence was, when opposed to that of Henry, yet they behaved on this occasion with vast spirit; and after many debates, they came to the dangerous resolution of refusing Henry admittance into their city, and of joining with Robert king of Sicily, who soon after came to Florence, where he met with great honours, and staid for almost a month. According to Aretin^c, it was then the Guelph league, of the Italian states, was formed; but we rather think it was then confirmed. The emperor was attended by Leopold duke of Austria, and Rodolphus of Bavaria, with Baldwin archbishop of Treves, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, and other lords of the empire^d; so that the German army was very formidable. As no emperor of Germany had ever been in Italy, since the time of Frederick II. pope Clement V. though he had before invited him, now put himself at the head of the confederacy against him. The greatness of Henry's army and court, rendered his marches very slow, which was of some service to the Florentines. Notwithstanding the danger they were in, they this year sent an army to the assistance of the Arezzian Guelphs, who were hard pressed by their adversaries, but relieved by the Florentines. The

A. D.
1311.

who
marches
into Italy.

^a MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 259. ^b Page 87.

^d HEISS's Hist. of the Empire, pag. 329.

^c Ibid.
Florentine

Florentine Ghibelins, however, joined the emperor; and even *Dante* himself, in one of his epistles, vituperates the *Florentines* for their conduct, in resisting him; and many miseries passed between them and the emperor, who continued most of the year about *Milan*, *Cremona* and *Brescia*, and other places in that neighbourhood. The *Florentines* still continued obstinate; but many of the wise and more moderate amongst them, proposed a kind of an act of amnesty, for re-admitting their exiled brethren, which at last passed: by the intrigues of one *Baldi*, a mercenary lawyer, it was filled with great numbers of exceptions, which afterwards proved of vast detriment to the state. Amongst those who were excepted was *Dante* the poet.

GREAT numbers, however, were restored by this act of Progres, amnesty, and the confederacy now extended to *Florence*, *Lucca*, *Sienna*, *Fiesole*, *Bologna*, *Citta di Castello*, and a great number of other smaller states, who all ranged themselves under the banners of *Robert* king of *Sicily*, and *Bologna* was appointed to be the place of rendezvous for all their forces, as being most convenient for preventing the emperor's march into *Tuscany*. The emperor spent the winter of the year 1311 at *Genoa*, which lent him twenty long galleys, and in the following *March* he arrived at *Pisa*, on his way to *Rome*; but remained some days at *Viterbo*, that he might the better understand the state of *Italy*, which he found most miserably divided. His intention was to re-establish the imperial authority there, and he had made himself be crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Milan*; but he could not prevail upon the pope and the cardinals to crown him in *Rome*. Having, however, a great faction in that city, he resolved to force his way into it, though he was opposed by *John* the prince of *Morea*, brother to *Robert* king of *Sicily*. The *Florentines*, ever faithful to their engagements, understanding how things went at *Rome*, sent their friends there a strong reinforcement; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that he forced his way into the city, and was tumultuously crowned by some cardinals in the church of *St. John Lateran* on the first of *August*, 1312. This is a regular coronation would have been but of little service to the emperor, had he not been favoured by the intestine divisions which at this time prevailed all over *Italy*. He had made himself master of *Milan* and *Cremona*, the latter by force; and obliged *Parma*, *Vicenza*, and *Piacenza*, to acknowledge his authority and pay him money. *Padua* paid

* Cronaca di dino Cor pagni apud MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 532.

him one hundred thousand crowns, and submitted to receive a governor from him; and *Venice* made him a present of a magnificent crown of gold, enriched with diamonds: and he appointed governors in all the cities that either voluntarily, or by force, submitted to him. *Nicholas* bishop of *Brotonzo*^a, who attended *Henry* in this expedition, informs us, that the *Florentines* on this occasion sent one *Ricardo Hugueti*, to make up matters with the emperor, but that they deceived him. *Arctin* is silent as to that ambassage; possibly it was no other than a secret negotiation between the emperor and the heads of the *Gibelin* party in *Florence* (A). Be that as it will, it is certain that the emperor was enraged beyond all measure with the king of *Sicily* and the *Florentines*, to whom he imputed all the difficulties he encountered. His German army, by this time, was so greatly harrassed and weakened, that he was in no condition to march against *Robert*; he therefore resolved to vent his rage upon *Florence*, and advanced against that state by the way of *Perugia*, *Cortona*, and *Arezzo*, keeping the *Apennines* on his right. In his march he was joined by all the *Florentine* exiles, who had been excepted out of the late act of amnesty. The *Florentines*, mean while, were not wanting to themselves: they called in all their troops, which were in excellent order, and charged their generals to do all they could to oppose the emperor; but, if possible, to avoid coming to a battle. The emperor, however, made himself master of several places of their territories; and at last came to *Ancisa*, where the *Florentine* army was so strongly entrenched, that he could not have proceeded, had he not been directed in his march by the *Florentine* exiles, who knew the country. The bishop of *Brotonzo* says, that the emperor's army was then in very bad plight; but that the emperor, having beaten part of the *Florentines*, would certainly have made himself master of *Ancisa*, had he attempted it. *Arctin*'s account is pretty much the same^b; and it appears upon the whole, that *Henry*'s animosity against *Florence* hurried him into a wrong step, by his leaving *Ancisa*, and the main part of the *Florentine* army, at

who
marches
against
Florence,

^a Iter Italicum Henrici Septimi. Imper. apud MUAATORI, tom. ix. pag. 922.

^b ARETIN. pag. 90.

(A) Notwithstanding this seeming omission, the agreements amongst the *Italian* authors, in all particulars relating to the *Florentine* history at this time, is wonderful, when we consider the factions that then tore *Italy*

his back, and marching against *Florence*, which he immediately invested on the side of the *Casanthi* gate.

THE *Florentines*, on seeing the imperial army, imagined ^{which he} that their troops had been totally defeated at *Ancisa*, and this ^{besieges,} belief threw them into a consternation that ^{but} terminated in despair. They manned their walls, and repaired their fortifications: but *Aretin* does not comprehend why the emperor did not take the first advantage of the consternation of the *Florentines*, and assault the city, in which case he probably would have made himself master of the place. The bishop of *Botronto*, who, at this time, attended the emperor's person, accounts for this omission, by telling us, that the emperor then was in a desperate state of health; that he had not with him above three hundred horse; that his camp was unprovided of every thing, through the madness of the *Germans*, who had made a military desert wherever they came; and that they were obliged to buy at double price their provisions from the *Gibelins*, who attended the army, and who left him as soon as their turn was served. In fact, the *Florentines*, from despair, reflected with amazement on their own condition. They summoned their confederates to their assistance, and the *Lucquese* sent them three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, all well-appointed troops. In a few hours their own army arrived from *Ancisa*, by a different route from what the emperor had taken, and they were now so secure, that though the emperor was encamped within three hundred paces of their walls, they scarcely perceived that they were besieged. Henry, on the ^{is forced to} last day of *November*, raised the siege, but not without being ^{raise the} harrassed in his retreat by the *Florentines*. When he came ^{siege.} to *Casciano*, which he ^{besieged}, he received a strong reinforcement from *Pisa* of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and one thousand *Genese* cross-bows. The bishop of *Botronto* acknowledges, that the *Germans* committed great irregularities during this siege, by burning a great many places, and taking others. Amongst the latter was the castle of *St. Mary*, where *Contardi*, of the family of *Filache*, then one of the noblest in *Venice*, was made prisoner. The *Gibelin* faction were earnest with the emperor to have taken off this nobleman's head, that he might thereby strike the greater terror into his enemies. The emperor, however, chose to dismiss him in safety, which he accordingly did, on condition of his returning to *Florence*, and endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his countrymen to the emperor. *Con-*

^c ARETIN. pag. 90.

tardi acquitted himself like a man of honour as to the conditions of his release; but without success. On his return to the emperor, he laid the principal blame of the stubbornness of the *Florentines* upon the bishop of *Florence* and his clergy, who were perpetually haranguing the people to stand by their liberties against the emperor. The emperor, while he lay before *Casiano*, was so little formidable to the *Florentines*, that they dismissed their auxiliaries, and harassed him to such a degree, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and removed to *Poggiobonza*, formerly called *Bonetium*^b, where he rebuilt the fortifications that had been razed by *Charles of Anjou*. But though it was now in the middle of winter, his army was so harassed by the *Florentines*, that he was obliged to keep the field till the beginning of *January*, 1213.

The *Florentines* apply to *Robert king of Naples*.

THE emperor's obstinacy, however, in continuing this war, gave the *Florentines* such apprehensions, that they resolved to apply to *Robert king of Naples, Sicily* being then under *Frederick*, for assistance, as they expected he would renew the war next spring with more fury than ever. They chose for their ambassadors *Giacomo Bardi* and *Dardano Acciaioli*. They were instructed to repair to *Sienna* and *Perugia*, that they might excite those states to join in the common cause, and likewise to apply to the *Lucques* and *Bolognese*. All of them ordered their deputies to join with those of *Florence*. *Robert* received the deputies with the utmost affection, and promised, if the affairs of his kingdom would suffer him, to put himself at the head of the *Tuscan* confederacy in person; and in the mean time, he sent his brother *Peter* to their assistance with a body of cavalry. This gave great spirits to the *Florentines*; but they were quickly damped by a demand made upon them from *Robert* of three months pay for his horsemen. This demand was the more unseasonable, as the state, of late, had been put to so great expence, that the public treasury was exhausted; nor would their other allies contribute to any share of the expence. In vain they applied to *Robert* for a mitigation of his demand; and part of the money being paid, they expected him to fulfil his promise. *Robert* knew the dread the *Florentines* were under of subjection to the emperor, and trifled with them so long, that they were forced to come to a resolution of offering to him the sovereignty of their city and dominions for five years. This was done by the presidents, who were vested with authority from the people for that purpose; but upon

They transfer the government of their city to him for five years.

^b Iter Italicum, pag. 929. ARÉTIN. pag. 90.

the following express conditions, viz. "That the king himself in person, or one of his sons or brothers, should reside in *Florence*; that no exile should be restored; that the people should be governed by their own laws; and that the power of the presidents should continue." Deputies were then appointed by the state, who repaired to *Naples*, and made a tender to *Robert* of his new sovereignty. *Robert* began his government with an act of justice highly approved of by the *Florentines*; for the presidents, who had been the main instruments of conferring the government upon him, presuming upon the great services they had done him, solicited him for certain immunities to themselves and their families, and other privileges, which were incompatible with the liberties of the people; *Robert*, after ratifying the instrument by which he received the government, rejected this application with the utmost disdain and dislike.

WHILE the emperor continued at *Poggiobonza*, he entered into a league with *Frederick* king of *Sicily* against *Robert*. Their intention was to invade the kingdom of *Naples*; and *Frederick* for that purpose furnished the emperor with a large sum of money. This supply enabled the emperor to take into his pay seventy *Genoese* galleys, to hire more troops in *Germany*, and to make other preparations, which might have proved fatal both to *Florence* and *Robert*. The emperor himself died near *Sienna*, in the midst of his expedition against *Florence* and its confederates, in *August*, 1213. Authors of no mean rank tell us he was poisoned. He certainly was a violent but impolitic prince. Before his death he had arrogated to himself the sovereignty of all *Italy*, and had summoned all the princes and states of it not only to do him homage, but to pay him tribute. The *Florentines* and their allies had the courage to oppose him; for which reason he denounced vengeance against them, and published edicts, giving them up to the sword, by putting both them and *Robert* king of *Naples* to the ban of the empire. This is said to have been the sentence of his own death, by giving the *Florentines* the hint to poison him, which a *Dominican*, hired by them, did, in administering to him the sacrament. Whatever may be in this (for the fact is not sufficiently authenticated)

• VOLTAIRE, HEISS, &c. •

(B) *Ferretus Vincentinus*, a contemporary author of great credit, published by *Muratori*, vol. ix. of his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, has given us a very minute account of this prince's death; but leaves no room for thinking that it happened by poison.

F 2

authenticated) it is, certain his death happened very critically for the *Florentines* and their allies, as well as for the king of *Naples*, because it absolutely destroyed the strong confederacy that had been formed against them. The *Genoese* fleet was dismissed, and the imperial army returned to *Germany*; while *Frederick*, who was then besieging *Reggio*, was obliged to return with his army to *Sicily*. The face of affairs all over *Italy* was now changed. The *Florentines* and their allies had been highly exasperated against the *Pisans*, for the assistance they had given to *Henry*, and determined to take a severe vengeance. The *Pisans*, upon this, chose for their governor *Uguicio Fagiolani*, in hopes of being able, by his means, to break or weaken the confederacy against them. *Fagiolani* immediately took into his pay eight hundred *German* horse, part of the emperor's army, and made great preparations against the *Lucquese*, who, upon that occasion, imitated the example of the *Florentines*, by putting themselves under the protection of the king of *Naples*. The elegant historian of *Florence* observes^d, that this objection rendered them less alert than they had been before in the field, because they trusted too much to *Robert's* protection. The *Florentines*, however, punctually performed all their engagements with the *Lucquese*, and *Fagiolani* for some time thought proper to shut himself up in *Pisa*. But no sooner did the confederates retire, than he attacked the *Lucquese* territories with so much fury, that he forced them to a scandalous peace, by which they delivered up several of their forts to the *Pisans*, and were obliged to re-admit into their city all their *Gibelin* exiles. The latter demanded to be reinstated in their effects; but this meeting with opposition, a civil war broke out in the city. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, gave a noble proof of their good faith: they had remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the pusillanimity of the *Lucquese* in concluding the late peace; but still they supported their friends in *Lucca*. The *Gibelin* faction there, on the other hand, applied to *Fagiolani*, who came to their assistance with his *German* horse, plundered the houses of both parties in *Lucca*, and drove all the *Lucquese Guelphs* out of that city.

A. D.
1314.

Good faith
of the Flo-
rentines.

So sudden a revolution of government could take place only in an *Italian* state, balanced, as that of *Lucca* was, be-

^d LEONARD. ARETIN:

poison. He tells us, indeed, till after he was given over by that a *Dominican* gave him the his physicians.
sacrament; but this was not

tween two powerful parties. The *Lucquese* exiles retired to the same estates they had upon the *Lower Arno*, where they im-
plored the protection of the *Florentines*, which they received in an eminent degree. They not only sent them succours, by which they were enabled to maintain their forts, but supplied by an embassy to the king of *Naples* for assistance.

- *Robert*, to keep up his credit with the *Tuscan* states, whom he now considered as his subjects, immediately ordered his brother *Peter* to march at the head of a body of horse to *Florence*. *Peter's* first care, after arriving there, was to make up matters with the *Arezzians*, whose government continued yet to be *Gibelin*, lest they should join with *Fagiolani*, and the *Gibelins* of *Lucca* and *Pisa*. This great point being effected, the *Florentines* applied themselves entirely to the war against *Pisa*; while *Fagiolani* as briskly pushed that against the exiled *Lucquese*, the *Pistoians*, the people of *Miniato*, the *Volterrans*, and other states confederated with *Florence*, that were open to his incursions. At last he formed the siege of *Catino*. In the mean while *Philip*, prince of *Tarentum*, another brother of *Robert* king of *Naples*, came to *Florence*, and gave such life to the *Florentines*, that they put him at the head of all the troops they could muster up, and he marched to raise the siege of *Catino*. *Fagiolani*, on his side, made suitable preparations to meet him; but, as he was inferior in strength, he remained on the defensive, though without raising the siege. But *Fagiolani* found himself under a necessity of returning to *Lucca*, where his presence was necessary to prevent a new revolution. This, however, he could not do without coming to a battle. Amongst the confederates of *Florence* were the *Siennese* and *Collenese* (C), whom *Fagiolani* attacked with such fury, that he drove them upon the main body of the *Florentines*. The latter, however, bravely made head against their enemies; but *Fagiolani's* German horse breaking in, they were put to a total rout, and two thousand of them were cut in pieces, besides great numbers who were drowned. *Philip*, who commanded the army, was that day sick, so that the command devolved upon his younger brother *Peter*, who, together with *Philip's* eldest son *Charles*, was killed in the battle. This victory was not

• ^c ARETIN, pag. 95. JANOTTI MANETTI Historia apud Muratorium, vol. xix. pag. 1030.

• (C) The inhabitants of *Colle*, it scarcely deserves that name, a town of *Tuscany*, so small that though it is the seat of a bishop.

bloodless on the side of *Fagiolani*. The *Florentines* killed his eldest son, and cut in pieces his first line of foot.

THE *Florentines* shewed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of their commanders that fatal day, and it was increased when they saw *Catino* surrendered to the conqueror, and that the king of *Naples* made no motion for assisting them. At last they began to talk of choosing another protector, when *Novello*, one of *Robert's* generals came, but with scarce any attendance, to put himself at the head of their army. This disappointment rendered the *Florentines* still more outrageous. Two factions, the Royalists and the Anti-royalists, sprung up in the city, who often came to blows with each other; and there must have been an end of the *Florentine* liberty, had not the *Pisans*, in attempting to throw off *Fagiolani's* yoke, given his army such a diversion that the *Florentines* received a breathing-time.

The Pisans
rebel
against
Fagiolani.

IT was at this period that the famous *Castruccio Castruccani* appeared. His personal history will come more properly under that of *Lucca*. It is sufficient here to say, that he was at this time a young man of wonderful endowments, both of body and mind, and was one of the *Lucqueses*, who, upon the late revolution, had been re-admitted into that city; where falling under *Fagiolani's* displeasure, he was imprisoned, when he was at the height of his reputation, after doing *Fagiolani* the most important services. *Fagiolani* made no secret that he intended to put him to death, as he had done many other noble *Pisans* and *Lucqueses*; but the latter took arms in his favour, and freed him from his imprisonment. *Fagiolani* hearing of this, marched out of *Pisa*, intending to reduce the contumacious *Lucqueses*; but he was no sooner gone than the *Pisans* shut their gates against his return, while the *Lucqueses* expelled him their city; and thus in one day he lost two principalities, and was obliged to fly with his son to *Luna*, now *Arici*. Both the *Pisans* and *Lucqueses* after this put themselves under the protection of the king of *Naples*, to the great discontent of the *Florentines*, who were in hopes of being revenged upon the *Pisans* for their defeat at *Catino*: being afraid, however, of injuring the common cause by disunion, they at last ratified what the king had done.

New regulation
about arm-
our.

THIS year is remarkable for a new regulation made in *Florence*, by which every horseman, who went to war, was to have his helmet, breast-plate, gauntlets, cuisses, and boots all of iron; a precaution which was taken on account of the disadvantages their cavalry had suffered from their light armour at the battle of *Catino*. *Guido*, a *Tuscan* count, whose estate lay in the neighbourhood of *Florence*, was then gover-
nor

nor of the city under *Robert*, who grew daily more and more unpopular there; not so much from any real grounds of dissatisfaction the people had, but because the seeds of enmity still subsisting among the noble families, if one favoured the king, it was cause sufficient for the other to oppose him. *Guido* was perfectly well acquainted with the interests and dispositions of the *Florentines*, and acted with such incomparable wisdom and moderation, that he made up above fifty capital quarrels subsisting amongst noble families, and thereby all of them were reconciled to the king; so that he reduced *Florence* to such a state of tranquility and unanimity that it scarce had ever known before. This period is further remarkable for the good faith with which the *Florentines* continued to assist their allies, by supporting the *Guelphs* of *Cremona* and *Parma* against their enemies.

ROBERT king of *Naples* was at this time at *Genoa*, where A. D. 1266.
a faction of the citizens put him in possession of that city. Meeting, however, with a strong opposition, he applied to the *Florentines*, who were then at peace both at home and abroad, and their allies, for assistance, which was accordingly sent him, and did him great service. The empire at this time was vacant, and had continued so ever since the death of the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg* in *Italy*. Pope *Clement* V. had condemned the memory of that emperor, and had reversed his sentence against *Robert* king of *Naples*. Not content with that, he pretended that *Robert* was his vassal, and that the holy see had a right to govern the empire during its vacancy; he therefore named *Robert* to be the imperial, or rather the papal vicar all over the imperial fiefs and possessions in *Italy*, and it was under that pretext he had got footing in *Genoa*. The expelled *Genoese*, however, being supported by *France*, *Robert* could not have maintained his footing in that city, without the assistance of the *Florentines*. Upon the death of *Clement* V. *John* XXII. succeeded to the see of *Rome*. Although his father was only a shoe-maker, he pretended to the same right his predecessors had done of deposing kings, and disposing of empires; but the *Gibelin* interest was at this time very strong in *Italy*. The *Florentines* had weakened themselves by the great supplies they had sent to *Genoa* and *France* against *Robert's* enemies. The bishop of *Arezzo* had again in a manner got possession of that city; and *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, who was a soldier of fortune, having been practised upon by the *Gibelins*, brought the *Lucchese*, whom he entirely governed, to declare against the *Florentines*. Thus *Florence* had a more formidable enemy than ever to encounter, no general in *Italy* being then thought com-
parable

payable to *Castruccio*, either for interest or reputation. At once he invaded and laid waste the territories of *Florence*, and took many fortified places, proceeding as far as *Empoli*. The *Florentines*, upon this, were obliged to recal one thousand horse, who were serving the king of *Naples* in his *Genoese* wars. *Castruccio*, glad of this opportunity to shew his power, immediately marched towards *Genoa*, but was obliged to return by an irruption which the *Florentines* made into the *Lucchese* territories. His ambition was, if possible, to fight the *Florentines*; but the latter, conscious of his superiority, kept upon the defensive all that year, but not without a great loss of reputation as well as territory.

Their wars with *Castruccio*. NEXT year the *Florentines* made a league with *Spinetta*, a *Lucchese* nobleman of great property, whom *Castruccio* had injured; and raising two armies, they invaded the *Lucchese* territories from different quarters. With one army they laid siege to *Figbini*; and with the other marched directly against *Lucca*, retaking a great many places they had before lost. *Castruccio* lost no time in opposing this double invasion, and marched with wonderful expedition to the relief of *Figbini*. The *Florentines*, on his approach, abandoned the siege, and made a more hasty retreat than was consistent with their honour. *Castruccio*, however, could not bring them to any decisive action, and with great difficulty, and some loss, they returned to *Florence*. Upon which *Castruccio* recovered all the places he had lost, and took several others.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* were at this time in a low state, chiefly through the loss of reputation, and their having no man of great consequence to head them. They had suffered greatly by the succours they had sent to the king of *Naples*, and their other allies; and they were so involved in war and difficulties in the year 1321, that they were obliged to create twelve assistant presidents for the management of affairs: they likewise that year added some new fortifications to their city.

THE ancient league between (D) the *Florentines* and the *Pistoians* still subsisted, and the former sent *Julio*, one of

¹ ARETINI, pag. 98.

(D) The following particulars of the league between the *Pistoians* and *Castruccio*, are taken from the *Pistoian* chronicle of *Janottius*, or *Janottius Manetti*, a *Florentine*, published by *Mutatori*, tom. xix. pag 987.

This *Manettius* is an unexceptionable author, not only as he was a *Florentine* of great rank and consideration, but governor of *Pistoia*. *Aretin* is very lame in this period of his history.

their best officers with a body of horse to the assistance of the latter, *Castruccio* having a strong party in their city, and an eye upon their government. At the same time *Pino*, a *Florentine* knight, was governor for the king of *Naples* in *Pistoia*. All that *Julio* could do, was to prevent *Castruccio* from making himself master of *Pistoia*; but he could not hinder him from actually laying the *Pistoian* territories under such heavy contributions, that the inhabitants wished for nothing so much as a peace, and some citizens of great eminence managed matters so, that they brought about a conference between *The Pif. Castruccio* and *Pino* for that purpose; but they disagreed upon the terms. This treaty gave so great uneasiness to the *Florentines* that they sent for *Pino* to *Florence*; and in the mean time the *Pistoians* of themselves chose a new governor, one *Fumo*, a partizan of *Castruccio*. *Ormanni*, prior of the monastery of *Pescia*, was of the same faction, and extremely active in getting all the enemies to *Castruccio* removed out of the government. *Ormanni*'s influence was so great in the state, that he got the common people publicly to declare for a treaty with *Castruccio*. The *Florentine* government, understanding this, sent a formal embassy, consisting of six noblemen, and as many principal citizens, to dissuade the *Pistoians* from making, at least, a separate treaty. *Ormanni* hearing of this deputation, wrote to all the inhabitants of the *Pistoian* territories, desiring them to repair instantly to that city, if they were for peace with *Castruccio*. In the mean while, the *Florentine* ambassadors were received with the utmost politeness by *Ormanni*, and the heads of his faction; but by his management, the gates of the city and the palace were suddenly seized by the people, and all the magistrates, whom they suspected to be averse to peace, were displaced. *Ormanni* pretended to the *Florentine* deputies, that this had been done without his knowledge, and against his intention; but at the same time he privately invited *Castruccio* to advance towards *Pistoia*, to give weight to the revolution.

It does not appear, from *Manetti*'s relation, that *Ormanni* hitherto was more sincere with *Castruccio* than he had been with the *Florentine* deputies; who, upon the news of *Castruccio*'s approach, hastily left *Pistoia*, and with some difficulty saved two noblemen, whom *Ormanni* designed to have put to death. After this, he took upon himself the exercise of the government, drove out of the city all who opposed him, and left the people to be plundered and oppressed by his rapacious kinsmen. He still, however, endeavoured to keep fair with

Castruccio; but the latter, perceiving that *Ormanni* was only amusing him, made himself master of the greatest part of the *Piscean* territory. This, together with *Ormanni*'s own insolence, rendered him extremely unpopular; and *Philip*, his nephew, a man of much greater address and moderation, stripped him of his power; but behaved so as to keep well both with *Castruccio* and the *Florentines*; though it was not long before he was obliged to give up the government of *Livorno* intirely to *Castruccio*.

WHILE this revolution was bringing about in *Livorno*, the *Florentines* sent an army to the relief of their allies of *Sienna*, while the turbulent bishop of *Arezzo* besieged and took *Fronzoli*, and persecuted with fire and sword all the allies of *Florence* in the territories of *Arezzo*, who sent to *Florence* for assistance. The bishop was then besieging *Velona*; and though the *Florentines* might well have excused themselves, on account of the multiplicity of the wars they were engaged in, from undertaking a new one, yet they immediately ordered a powerful assistance to their confederates. But the bishop by this time had taken and razed to the ground *Velona*; upon which the *Florentine* auxiliaries returned home, as the bishop did to *Arezzo*. The difficulties in which the *Florentines* were now involved, seem rather to increase than damp their spirits. They incessantly put their allies, who were chiefly composed of exiled *Guelphs*, in mind of *Castruccio*'s power, and the danger the liberties of *Tuscany* were in from him; and this they did with such success, that they once more assembled a powerful army in *Florence*. This checked *Castruccio*'s progress for some time; and the *Florentines* even entered into a treaty with the *Genoese*, whom they assisted with a body of land-forces, upon condition that the *Genoese* should assist them with a fleet against the *Lucchese*, to give a diversion to *Castruccio*. While preparations were making for this expedition by land, an officer of approved fidelity, who had the command of three hundred horse, deserted with his men to *Castruccio*. The *Florentines* thought that this had happened through the corruption of the officer; and each dreading another, the expedition came to nothing. This gave an opportunity to *Castruccio* to make a fresh irruption into the *Florentine* territories, as far as *St. Miniato*; and then he returned triumphantly to *Lucca*, boasting that he had inflicted upon his enemies those calamities they had intended against him. In the mean while the bishop of *Arezzo* fell upon *Fagiolani*'s estates, which lay at the foot of the *Appennines*; and after taking several of his castles, he besieged *Rondino*. This small city and territory had been always faithful to their confederacy with *Florence*,
and

An officer
revolts
from the
Floren-
tines.

and the inhabitants immediately implored its protection. The *Florentines*, with sorrowful hearts, found the danger they were encompassed with was such, that they could send no relief to their brave allies, who, after a resistance of some months, were obliged to give up their town to the bishop. In the mean while *Castruccio* had advanced as far as *Prato*, which lies almost half way between *Florence* and *Pistoia*, and but a few miles from both. This spread such an alarm through *Florence*, that the people, without waiting for orders, ran to arms, marched out of the city, and, to the number of twenty thousand, faced *Castruccio*. The latter was startled at such superior numbers to his own; but not caring to attack an enraged multitude, though he made dispositions for fighting, he withdrew in the night-time from *Pistoia*; so that next morning the *Florentines* beheld no enemy. *Manetti* informs us^h, though *Aretin* is silent on the matter, that *Raimond Cardoni*, who had been one of the pope's generals in *France*, was the *Florentine* commander in this expedition. It is certain, that the morning after *Castruccio's* retreat, the *Florentines* were dreadfully mortified in perceiving they had no enemy to fight. The common people, and all who had served as volunteers in the expedition, were for pursuing the enemy; but the nobility opposed them. This begat such differences in the army, that it was resolved to refer the matter to the council of presidents at *Florence*; but debates running as high amongst them as they had done in the army, the common people, who had been left behind, being joined by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and country, who all of them, on this occasion, repaired to *Florence*, forced their magistrates to continue the expedition, and to attempt the reduction of *Lucca* itself. This tumultuous resolution is as tumultuously expressed by the *Florentine* historians. It is certain, that an incredible number of people, in hopes of bringing *Castruccio* and his army in chains to *Florence*, marched to join their army near *Prato*. But when they came upon the spot, the whole formed an unwieldy disorderly concourse; and after a few altercations with the nobility, the main body returned to *Florence*, where new difficulties started on the following occasion.

WHILE the *Florentines* were trembling at the approach of *Castruccio* to *Prato*, they passed a decree, by which the *Florentine* exiles, who were very numerous, and all of them men of service, were promised re-admission into the city, if they would appear in arms, and join their countrymen against *Castruccio*. This brought a great body of exiles to the *Flo-*

^h MANETTI apud MURAT. p. 1035.

At the camp; where the nature of the disputes between the nobles and the people who returned to *Florence*, convinced them, that they would have some difficulty in being re-instated in the immunities that had been promised them. Being better mounted than the rest of the *Florentine* army, which was now on its march back to *Florence*, they thought to have got the start, and to have entered the city before them; but the prevailing party within the walls shut the gates against them; they therefore were obliged to encamp without the gates. Next day the main army re-entered the city, and the exiles marched to *Prato*, from whence they sent eight deputies to treat with the magistracy and people of *Florence*.

*Divisions
in Flo-
rence*

THOSE deputies found the city greatly divided. The re-admission of the *Florentine* exiles had been carried through by the presidents, who insisted upon the performance of the public faith; and they were joined by the nobility, who, being now cured of their attachment to the pope, sought to strengthen their interest by the re-admission of the exiles. The people, on the other hand, opposed that re-admission, not only from a spirit of pertinaciousness, but on account of the behaviour of the nobility in the late expedition. The party of the nobles and magistracy, however, prevailed so far, that the deputies of the exiles had a public hearing. In this audience they strongly urged the decree of the presidents in favour of their re-admission. Upon their withdrawing, one of the shrewdest among the popular advocates insisted, that the presidents, who were but trustees of the public, were not authorized, by the constitution of their government, to make any such decree without the consent of the people, whose sense ought to be consulted upon the occasion. Great objections were likewise raised against the exiles for their leaving their camp, and attempting to force their way into the city. It appears from *Arctin*^k, as ⁱ, in such cases of debate, the *Florentines* had proceeded to ballot, which, in this question, went greatly against the exiles; upon which the assembly was dismissed, and the exiles came to a resolution of forcing their way into the city. This could not be done without consulting their friends within the walls; and while that was in agitation, the citizens, more than suspecting the matter, doubled their guards, and thickened their walls; so that when the exiles, to the number of fifteen thousand, came to execute their design, they perceived it had been discovered, and found themselves under a necessity of abandoning it.

*The exiles
disappoint-
ed.*

ⁱ *ARETINI*, p. 100.

^k *Ibid.* p. 102:

THEIR appearance before the gates was evidence sufficient to the people that they had accomplices in the city; but the popular proceedings on this occasion, though without precedent, were, beyond all example, wise and moderate. Having no positive proof against any one, and yet convinced that some of them were guilty, they met in a body, and every one writing down the name of the person he suspected, all the notes were thrown into a kind of balloting box; and upon examination, it was found, that, by the plurality of the assembly's tickets, their suspicions were fixed on three persons, *Amerigo* or *Americo Donati*, *Teggia Frescobaldi*, and *Lotteringo Gerardini*. Those noblemen being cited, appeared before the magistracy, where they justified the suspicion of the people, by owning that they knew of the conspiracy of the exiles, but that they had not encouraged it. This being what is called, by the law of *England*, misprision of treason, each had a moderate fine (A) imposed upon him, and were subject to a slight short banishment. This sentence being pronounced, the people furnished themselves with what they called penons, from whence the *English* have the same word, which were diminutives of their great flags of arms, and to which they could resort on occasions, either when they could not join their great standards, or when their magistrates prohibited their being displayed.

AT this time, the constitution of *Florence* received a new *Nova* and an important alteration. The election of magistrates had always, till then, been carried by a majority; but this proving the source of great heats in the state, it was agreed that the electors, who consisted of the president and the members of the colleges, should write upon tickets, and inclose in a chest, the names of such citizens as they conceived to be proper for magistrates; and that, when the day of election came, so many of those names should be casually taken out, after shaking the chest or coffer, according to the number to be chosen; and those names that were first drawn were to be the magistrates elect. Their persons, however, were subject to two disqualifications; which were, that no man could be a magistrate who had served in the same post within three years, or who had a brother or near relation in the magistracy. Their authority was to continue three years and a half (B).

(A) *Arctin's* words are, *Duobus millibus æris singuli eorum multati*. This sum, according to the best of my information, did not exceed 50*l.* sterling a-piece.

(B) Though this method of choosing by lots continued as long as *Florence* could be called a republic; yet *Arctin*, p. 103, thinks that its evil overbalanced its good consequences.

WHILE

WHILE *Florence* was thus providing for the security of her liberty, she was in danger of losing her territory, which *Castruccio* was laying waste on the one hand; while the bishop of *Arezzo*, on the other, took *Tifernum*, or *Citta di Castello*. The neighbourhood and power of the *Arezzians* prelate alarmed some of the *Tuscan* states so greatly, *Peruggia* particularly, that they renewed their league with *Florence* for three years, and resolved to attempt the recovery of *Citta di Castello*. *Castruccio*, who had excellent intelligence of the motions of his enemies, was at this time lying near *Fucetti*, a town of great importance on the frontiers of *Lucca*, but in possession of the *Florentines*. Being unable to take it by force, he had recourse to money, and corrupted part of its garrison with a large sum; so that he found admittance, in a dark and stormy night, with one hundred and fifty horse and five hundred foot. The uncorrupted part of the garrison, and the citizens, finding they were betrayed, ran to arms, and drove *Castruccio*, after a most bloody encounter, to the upper part of the town; where he was obliged to barricade himself and his troops, in hopes of his being joined next day by the main body of his army. But the neighbouring garrisons in the interest of *Florence*, suspecting what had happened, from the fires they saw lighted up in the night-time within the place, sent such reinforcements next morning to the garrison, that *Castruccio* could no longer maintain his ground; and receiving a wound in his face, he escaped with great difficulty, and with the loss of almost his whole party. This year there was, by tacit consent, a kind of a cessation of arms between the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians*; but the former joined their troops with the *Siennese*, the *Bolognese*, and their other confederates, in the expedition against *Citta di Castello*. By this time *Castruccio* had become intirely master of *Pistoia*, where he gave his daughter in marriage to *Philip*, who some time before had for that purpose poisoned his former wife.

Intestine
divisions
there.

THIS danger from abroad seemed rather to increase than abate the intestine divisions of *Florence*. The people attributed all their misfortunes to the mismanagement or corruption of their magistrates, whom they displaced at the next general election; and, amongst others, one *Nardi Bordo*, or *Bardo*, whom they resolved to impeach before *Robert's* governor for treason. The presidents, either favouring the accused, or conscious of his innocence, sent him abroad in a public character; and, when the day of trial came, his brother, attended by the officers of the presidents, pleaded his employment as an excuse for his absence. The president, who was *Bardo's* enemy, over-ruled this plea; and from words they

they proceeded to blows. The president, favoured by the people, remained master of the field; and not only pronounced sentence against *Bordo*, but banished his brother out of the city.

THE war all this while was going on briskly between the *Florentines* and their confederates, who had still *Raimond* at their head, and *Castruccio*, who remained on the defensive, shut up in *Pistoia*. *Raimond*, to draw him to a battle, made disposition, as if he was about to besiege *Ticini*, and sent out foraging parties to the very gates of *Pistoia*. Those movements amused *Castruccio*, so that *Raimond* made himself master of *Capiano* and *Falconi*. This great success of the allies gave the *Florentines* such spirits, that they reinforced their army under *Raimond*, so as that the whole amounted to twenty thousand foot, besides horse. They then besieged *Topaldi*, a very strong place, with a garrison within it of five hundred men, but very unwholesomely situated on the side of a lake. The besieged, expecting every day to be relieved by *Castruccio*, made an obstinate defence; but the diseases which the allies contracted, during the siege, ruined their army. *Castruccio* advanced to the relief of the place, and did all that an able general, at the head of an army inferior to that of his enemies, could do to raise the siege (D); but being defeated in several encounters, the town was yielded to the allies. A great division now succeeded amongst them, concerning their subsequent operations: some were for returning to *Florence*, on account of the great mortality that had happened in their army, and the diminution of their troops by leave of absence, and other accidents. The majority, however, carried it for an expedition against *Lucca* itself. As the ground, over which the army was to march, was very woody and uneven, an advanced party of one hundred horse were detached before to reconnoitre. They were attacked by the like number from *Castruccio's* army, which remained still in the neighbourhood; and both parties being supported from their main bodies, a general engagement followed, in which the bravest on both sides were killed, and *Castruccio* himself was wounded; but the day was decided in his favour, though

(C) The reader is to observe, that the face of the country of *Tuscany* is now so greatly altered, that several places mentioned here have now hardly any existence. Nor are the *Italian* writers themselves agreed about

the situation of them. I have therefore thought proper, where there is any doubt concerning them, to keep as near as I can to the names given them by *Aretin*.

Rai-

Raimond made an orderly retreat, and even laid some claim to the victory.

RAIMOND, however, could not re-inspire the *Florentines* with courage sufficient to keep the field, and their dejection after the battle corresponded to their presumption before it. *Castruccio*, on the other hand, sensible of the important victory he had obtained, made dispositions for carrying on the war against the *Florentines* with greater vigour than ever. For this purpose he applied to *Galeazzo*, viscount of *Milan*. He sent to his assistance his son *Azo*, a young prince of great fire and courage, with eight hundred horse, who immediately set out for *Lucca*. While they were upon their march, *Castruccio* found means to spread so many suspicious reports amongst the *Florentines*, that their general did not find it safe for him to march to intercept the *Milanese*. But no sooner was it known that the latter were in the neighbourhood of *Lucca*, than the *Florentine* army fell back to *Topaldi*, and from thence to *Fucetti*. They were pursued by *Castruccio* and the *Milanese*, who fell in with their rear, and drove the *Florentines* into such a situation, that they had no safety but by fighting. A desperate battle ensued, in which their lieutenant-general under *Raimond*, being (as it is said) corrupted by *Castruccio*, gave way; and the *Milanese* horse making themselves masters of a bridge by which the *Florentines* were to retreat, a terrible slaughter followed, in which the *Florentines* were cut in pieces, and their general with his son were taken prisoners by *Castruccio*, who likewise made himself master of all their camp and baggage. *Castruccio* improved this victory by conquering the *Florentine* territory, and laying it waste to the very gates of *Florence*, which he insulted for some days with all the indignities he could devise. He then returned by the way of *Prato*, to *Lucca*, where he paid his *Milanese* auxiliaries out of the immense booty he made in the field. This punctuality was so pleasing to *Azo*, that, in revenge, as he said, for the *Florentines* having always taken part against the viscounts of *Milan*, he led his horse once more against the *Florentines*; but not being able to bring them to a battle, he braved the inhabitants within their walls, returned to *Lucca*, and from thence home.

FLORENCE was at this time in a most deplorable situation. *Castruccio* renewed his ravages, and burnt down all that his fury had spared before. This obliged the country people, with their families, to fly to *Florence*, which created first a famine, and then a pestilence. There must now have been an end of that republic, had it not been for the moderation of the bishop of *Arezzo*, who began to grow jealous of

Cas-

Castuccio's greatness. The latter again and again solicited that prelate, and the *Arezzians*, to revenge the former injuries and losses they had suffered from the *Florentines*, and to undertake the siege of that city on one side, while he carried it on on the other. The prelate firmly rejected this proposal, upon which *Castuccio* carried his devastations into the *Florentine* territories lying towards the vale of *Mugelli*, at the foot of the *Appennines*. The reader who knows the fertility and riches of the *Florentine* territory, will not be surprised at *Castuccio* still finding fresh objects of rapine and devastation. He met with no opposition in the field, but upon his return towards *Segni*, which lay within sight of *Florence*, the *Florentines* sent out one thousand foot and two hundred horse, to dispute an advantageous pass by which he must march. Had this order been expeditiously executed, *Castuccio*, in all probability, must have been defeated, or, at least, forced to resign the effects and cattle he had taken, but he had got clear of the pass before the *Florentines* came up, and arrived safe at *Segni*, where he was so well pleased with his successes, that he ordered money to be struck in commemoration of them ¹.

THE *Florentines* bore their misfortune with incredible constancy. they named two new officers to take care of the fortifications of the city, which were repaired and improved, and took precautions for preventing *Castuccio's* return to the vale of *Mugelli*. In the mean while the pope, being exasperated with the bishop of *Arezzo*, for having taken *Citta di Castello*, and holding it against his express injunctions and commands, struck off *Cortona* from the see of *Arezzo*, and named one *Rainer*, of the family of *Uberti*, for its first bishop. *Guido*, bishop of *Arezzo*, looking upon the erection of this new bishopric to be a robbery committed upon himself, immediately laid siege to *Laterina*, while the *Arezzians* demolished the houses, and plundered the estates of the *Uberti* family. *Laterina* was taken and razed to the ground by the prelate, who after this took *Sabinum*, which he likewise levelled.

THOSE successes of the bishop of *Arezzo* rendered *Castuccio* jealous in his turn. He offered to treat with the *Florentines* for peace, and for that purpose employed the chief *Florentine* prisoners who were in his hands. The *Florentines* were so exasperated by the losses they had sustained, that they not only declined all advances towards a peace, but deprived the friends and relations of the captives of all places of power

¹ ARTIN pag 90.

and trust they had in the government, lest they should favour the negotiations. At the same time they raised fresh troops, and, though their capital enemy was in a manner at their gates, they sent two hundred horse to the assistance of their *Bolognese* allies. Upon this *Castruccio* laid siege to *Murli*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Prato*. This place was bravely defended by *Adimar* and *Pattio* against the utmost efforts of *Castruccio*, who was at last obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade: but in the mean time he renewed his incursions to the gates of *Florence*, from which his troops were driven with great loss by the *Florentines*. He then resumed the siege of *Murli*, which continued to make a gallant defence; but the garrison having no prospect of relief, was at last obliged to deliver up the place, after an honourable capitulation.

who resign
their city
to the
prince of
Tarentum.

DURING those distresses, the *Florentines* applied for protection once more to the court of *Naples*, and resigned the government of their city, for ten years, into the hands of *Charles* prince of *Tarentum*, son to that king, who made great preparations for taking possession of his new government. A *Frenchman*, whose name was *Peter*, then commanded the *Florentine* army; and a great number of his countrymen serving in *Castruccio's* troops, he found means to enter into a conspiracy with them for delivering the important fortress of *Segni* into his hands. This conspiracy was discovered, and the heads of it were put to death; but this discovery tended only to render *Castruccio's* troops jealous of one another, so that he came to a resolution of razing the place. *Peter*, who knew nothing of the discovery, advanced with a body of troops against *Segni*, where he found the gates shut against him; while *Castruccio* himself renewed his ravages in the *Florentine* territories. Soon after this *Castruccio* demolished *Segni*, and removed his head-quarters to *Carmini*, where he over-reached the *Frenchman* in his own arts, by means of certain emissaries, who pretended they would betray *Carmini* into his hands. *Peter* marched with a body of troops to take possession, as he thought, of that place. In his march he fell into a strong ambuscade, which had been formed by *Castruccio*. His troops were partly put to the sword, and partly, with himself, taken prisoners, and put to death in cold blood by *Castruccio*, on pretence that *Peter*, by his intrigues, had transgressed the laws of war. This disaster served to redouble the instances of the *Florentines* at the court of *Naples*, for hastening the march of *Charles* to their assistance. They increased the revenue they

were

were to pay him, and engaged to defray the expence of six thousand additional troops while the war lasted.

ABOUT this time cardinal *Ursini* arrived at *Florence*, as legate from the pope, and waited some time for the arrival of *Charles*, to consult upon the means of restoring the tranquillity of *Tuscany*. *Charles*, in his approach to *Florence*, spent some time at *Sienna*, to secure his interest in that city; and at last he entered *Florence* in vast pomp, and with such a retinue as alarmed many of the *Florentines*, who signified their apprehensions that their public liberty was about to fall a sacrifice to *Charles* and the legate.

GALEAZZO, the artful viscount of *Milan*, was well apprized of their apprehensions; and being an enemy at once to the pope and the king of *Naples*, he prevailed with the *Gibelin* faction, both in *Florence* and all over *Italy*, to invite the emperor *Lewis V.* of *Bavaria*, to come in person to their assistance. *John XXII.* continued still to sit in the papal chair, and had again and again excommunicated *Lewis*. The latter, however, receiving great encouragement in *Germany*, as well as in *Italy*, to proceed in the expedition, passed the *Alps*, and came to *Trent*, with his empress. He there summoned a general assembly of all the *Italian Gibelins*; and his prospect of success was so fair, that in the beginning of next year he marched to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy*, by the hands of the turbulent bishop of *Arezzo*: but *Lewis*, being poor, he fleeced the *Italian* states so immoderately, that they soon became tired of his government. *Castruccio* was by him honoured with the title of his vicar in *Tuscany*, and still continued the war against *Florence*. The courage of *Charles*, the new *Florentine* governor, was far from answering expectations. Instead of taking the field in person, he gave the command of his army to *Novello*, one of his officers, who took *Monte Alverno* in sight of *Castruccio*, and besieged *Astimini*, which surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. While *Novello* was in this career of success, he was recalled by *Charles*, to oppose the emperor, who had passed the *Appennines*, and was in full march towards *Pisa*. *Novello's* return to *Florence*, gave *Castruccio* leisure to pay his respects to the emperor, and to make him a present of a considerable sum of money. By this time the *Pisans*, having conceived an invincible aversion to the emperor, came to a resolution to deny him admittance into their city. This was the more remarkable, because they were amongst the first of the *Italians* who had invited him into *Italy*; but his exclusion was owing to the rapaciousness of himself and his attendants,

A. D.
1327.

A. D.
1328.

Success of
their general.

great numbers of whom were *Franciscan* monks ^m. The *Pisans*, however, that they might keep some measures of decency with him, offered him sixty thousand florins, if he would postpone his visit to their city. The offer was refused, and the *Pisans* dismissed all the *German* cavalry that was in their pay, but kept their horses; and came to the resolution, if they were attacked, to call to their aid *Charles* and the *Florentines*. *Lewis* had intelligence of all those proceedings, and *Florence* owed her liberty, at this time, to the firmness of the *Pisans*, and the differences between *Castruccio* and the bishop of *Arezzo*.

State of
Italy.

THE state of *Italy* was now very singular. The pope had less power there than he had in any part of the Christian world. There was indeed a great party who called themselves *Guelphs*; but they affected this distinction only to keep themselves independent of the Imperialists, and his holiness durst not even trust his person in *Rome*, but generally resided at *Lyons*, or some other part of *France*. Notwithstanding this, though the pope had little power, he had great influence in *Italy*. Being insatiably covetous, he had amassed five and twenty millions of florins of gold, above six millions sterling money, for the places and benefices he sold; and the states and princes, who called themselves *Guelphs*, paid him no other acknowledgment for the great convenience they found in sheltering themselves under his name and authority. Thus the pope and they were of mutual service to each other. The extravagant power of excommunicating sovereign princes, which he assumed and exercised, served them as a pretext to keep them free from the imperial yoke. The emperor, on the other hand, carried his claims to as extravagant a pitch as the pope, by pretending to succeed to all the rights and dominions of the old *Roman* emperors in *Italy*, and even to that of making popes; while at the same time he was childishly devoted to the superstition and follies of the papal religion; and his power in *Italy*, like that of the pope, consisted in a great measure in the convenience which the *Gibelins* found in opposing their enemies under the sanction of his authority.

LEWIS thought it of dangerous consequence to his affairs to be refused admittance into *Pisa*, and appointed commissioners to treat with the magistracy, who would not suffer them to enter the city; but consented to send deputies to treat with the bishop of *Arezzo*, upon their receiving a safe

conduct for their return, which they accordingly did; but nothing could be agreed upon. The deputies in going back to *Pisa*, were intercepted by *Castruccio*; and the bishop complained of *Castruccio* to the emperor, as if the affront had been offered to his honour, under which the deputies had treated. *Castruccio* replied with equal spirit, and each recriminated on the other; but it was very discernable, that the emperor was most inclinable to favour *Castruccio*. This disgusted the prelate so much, that he left *Lewis*, and probably the bishop would have reconciled himself to the pope and the *Florentines*, of *Arezzo*, if he had not died in his journey to *Arezzo*.

AFTER the bishop's departure, *Castruccio* acted as general and sole minister to the emperor. The *Pisans*, continuing refractory, their city was besieged and taken; but we know of no severities inflicted on the inhabitants, farther than that they were burthened with the entertainment of the emperor for almost two months, and forced to furnish him with a sum of money, and other necessaries, for continuing his journey to *Rome*.

CHARLES of *Naples* no sooner heard that the emperor was set out for *Rome*, than calling together a general assembly of the *Florentines*, he laid before them the necessity he was under of returning to defend *Naples* against the emperor and *Castruccio*; but he acquainted them, that he would leave them for his deputy-governor *Philip*, one of his ablest generals, with one thousand horse to assist him. He then he set out for *Naples* by the way of *Sienna* and *Perugia*.

UPON the departure of *Charles*, *Philip* resolved on an enterprize, which makes a great figure in the *Florentine* history; taken by and that was no less than the surprizal of *Pistoia*, where the *Florentines* had left seven hundred men in garrison, all of them choice troops. He concerted his measures with two *Pistoian* *Guelph* exiles, who promised to be his conductors, and a *Neapolitan* nobleman, whose name was *Simon Tosa*. All others were ignorant of his design; and this probably was the chief reason why it succeeded. In consequence of their agreement, he marched to *Prato*, where he prepared scaling ladders, and other instruments and machines for his purpose; and being attended with a body of two thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he arrived that very night under the walls of *Pistoia*. It was then the dead of winter, and the frost so severe, that the waters in the ditches were passable, whereby the exiles came near enough to the walls to mount them by the assis-

* MANETTI ubi supra, pag. 1044.

tance of their scaling ladders; and they were followed by about one hundred of their party; while those without, passing the ditches, attempted with pick-axes, and other instruments they brought with them, to penetrate the walls, in which at last they made two small breaches.

IN the mean while the commandant of the place, in going his rounds, perceiving what was passing, alarmed the garrison, who, at first imagining that the town had been betrayed by the inhabitants, were somewhat backward in standing to their arms; but seeing the townsmen, who were by this time likewise alarmed, charge the enemy with great vigour, they seconded them so well, that the *Florentines* who had entered must have been cut in pieces or driven back, had not the breaches been so widened, that *Philip* entered them at the head of some of his horse, by which means he somewhat checked the fury of the townsmen and the garrison. Notwithstanding this, the latter was so well supported, that the assailants must have been repelled with great loss, had they not found means to set fire to the gates, by which the whole body, both of horse and foot, entered the place, and with great slaughter to themselves, as well as their enemies, gained some ground, and pushed on towards the market-place. This success was in a great measure owing to the active intrepidity of *Philip*, who exposed himself to all kinds of danger, and ordered a body of his horse to secure the breaches, so as to take from his own soldiers all hopes of flying. The assailants were likewise greatly favoured by the confusion and hurry of the women, children, and the more fearful part of the citizens, which greatly alarmed and disordered the garrison and townsmen; and *Castruccio's* two sons, retiring with the garrison to the citadel, the townsmen returned to their several homes. The *Florentines*, seeing now no enemy, dispersed themselves all over the town, so that when *Philip* marched to force the citadel, he was attended with a very inconsiderable number of his soldiers, and those mostly officers. The garrison observing this, attacked him with great fury; and it was with the utmost difficulty he could maintain his ground till day-break, when his straggling soldiers, hearing of their general's danger, and ashamed of their own irregularities, rejoined him; while the garrison retired to the citadel, which they soon after abandoned. The *Florentines*, becoming thus absolute masters both of the town and citadel, again gave a loose, not, perhaps, without leave from their general, to the spirit of rapine, and plundered equally friends as foes. As *Philip*, having settled affairs, and left a garrison in *Pistoria*,

he returned, in ten days from his first setting out upon his expedition, to *Florence*, where he was received with triumphal honours.

In the mean while, the emperor and his consort had entered *Rome*; and though he had been formerly excommunicated by the pope, he was received there as emperor by the *Gibelin* faction, and crowned emperor by two excommunicated bishops, on the seventeenth of *January*, 1328, without taking the usual oath of fidelity to the holy see. The *Romans*, at this time, seemed to have forgot there was such a person as a pope in being. The *Colonna*, the *Ursini*, the *Savelli*, and *Conti* families, who were the great barons of *Rome*, and its territory, supported the imperial against the papal dignity; and *Lewis* appeared on all occasions in imperial robes, and as lord paramount of all *Italy*. *Castruccio* continued to be still his distinguished favourite; and such was the confidence he reposed in him, that he gave him not only the title of count, but the government of *Rome*.

THERE is some reason for believing that those honours were paid *Castruccio*, not more on account of his personal merits, than from the apprehensions *Lewis* was under from his active ambitious spirit. When *Castruccio* understood, (which he did in three days after the thing happened) that *Pistoia* was lost, he forgot himself so far as even to reproach the emperor for having obliged him to attend him; and without more ceremony he left *Rome*, attended with his own troops, who were one thousand cross-bows, a weapon at that time greatly used in *Italy*, and six hundred chosen horse, and set out for *Pisa*; but in his march, through impatience and solicitude, he left his troops behind him, and through almost impassable dangerous roads he entered *Pisa*, with no more than twelve followers. The *Pisans*, seeing him so slightly attended, received him with great respect; and his first care was to place a well-provided garrison in *Murli*, which lay in the neighbourhood of *Pistoia*. He then returned to *Pisa*, where, being supported by the Imperialists, whose cause he said was the same as his own, he raised money for executing his designs.

GRATITUDE is seldom the distinguishing virtue of republicans. Notwithstanding the extasies with which the *Florentines* had received *Philip*, upon his return from his *Pistoian* expedition, they soon fell at variance with him when, he insisted upon their being at the expence of providing all things necessary for keeping possession of *Pistoia*. They pleaded, that they had punctually performed all agreements with his master, and that he ought to provide for the safety of the place

place out of the plunder he had carried from it. *Philip* replied, by urging the laws and practice of war; and thus, in the heat of the dispute, the security of *Pistoia* was unprovided for. *Castruccio* was minutely informed of all that passed; and, before the parties could come to an accommodation, he besieged *Pistoia* with a great army, which he had assembled at *Pisa* and *Lucca*.

Pistoia besieged, *SIMON TOSA*, the *Florentine* nobleman we have already mentioned, commanded at that time in *Pistoia*, with a garrison of one thousand foot and three hundred horse, assisted by all the *Pisidian Guelphs*. No sooner was it known at *Florence* that the siege was formed, than the citizens there, proceeding from the extreme of frugality to that of public spirit, offered to devote their lives and fortunes to *Philip* for the relief of the town, and actually raised an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; at the head of which *Philip* went to give battle to *Castruccio*. The latter's intelligence was so good, that he knew the place had within it but two months provision; and being no stranger to the abilities of *Philip*, he resolved to act upon the defensive; but in the mean while he seemed to make such dispositions for engaging, as prevented the *Florentines* from attacking him in his camp. *Castruccio* made use of the time which this delay gave him, in fortifying his camp with trees and palisades, which he cut down in the neighbourhood; so that when the *Florentines*, tired out with long expectation, actually attacked it, they found it impregnable. This disappointment threw the *Florentines* into great consternation. In vain they challenged *Castruccio*, by the sound of all the trumpets in their army, to fight them; and at last, finding no other object to employ them, they resolved to plunder the defenceless territories of *Pisa* and *Lucca*, which they accordingly did. Even this did not shake *Castruccio* in his purpose. Almost three months were now elapsed since the siege had been formed. The garrison was reduced to the last mouthful of their provision; they saw their friends abandon them; they had no farther prospect of relief; and *Castruccio* wisely offering them an honourable capitulation, they surrendered the place, and marched out with what we now call the honours of war.

and retaken.

THE *Florentine* historians*, with great justice, think this retaking of *Pistoia* to be the most shining action of *Castruccio's* life; and undoubtedly, every thing considered, it shewed a vast superiority of military genius over all his contemporaries.

* ARETINI, pag. 116. MANETTI ubi supra, pag. 1048.

ries. It was, in that age, a new spectacle to behold a conqueror take possession of a strong city, in the sight, as it were, of a far superior army sent to relieve it. The *Florentines* could scarce believe their own eyes; but within a very few days they received still more mortifying news. The emperor, who had all this time remained at *Rome*, provoked by the pope's bull, by which he was divested of all his titles and possessions, summoned together at *Rome* a general assembly, wherein he was so presumptuous as to act as pope. He ordered no bishop to be absent above three months, and two ^{*The emperor acts*} days journey, from their sees, under pain of deprivation, and ^{*as pope.*} others being elected in their room. He then passed sentence of death upon all heretics, and particularly upon the pope, whom he termed *John de Cahors*, from the place of his nativity, and whom he likewise condemned for high treason against the imperial dignity. After this *Lewis*, in another grand assembly of clergy and laity, produced a cordelier, called father *Peter de Corvaria*, and asked the assembly whether they would have him for their pope. Upon their answering in the affirmative, he invested him with the papacy, by putting a ring on his finger, and throwing a robe over his shoulders. He then gave him the name of *Nicholas V.* together with a solemn induction into the papacy; and he was crowned by his hands, as if his first coronation had been irregular. *Robert* king of *Naples* was doomed to the same death, as pope *John* had been by *Lewis*; nor is it easy to conceive what could drive so prudent a prince, as *Lewis* is acknowledged to have been, into such frantic measures, if he had not intended to reside in *Italy*. Without hazarding farther conjectures, it is certain that he was disappointed in the assistance of a fleet he expected from *Sicily*; and he was so far from being able to make any impression upon *Robert* by land, that he every day expected to be besieged in *Rome* by that prince. At the same time he had certain intelligence from *Germany*, that the princes there were forming cabals against him, and that he was in danger of being stripped of the imperial dignity. For these and other reasons, but above all, because he saw some of the great *Roman* families disgusted with his conduct, he removed from *Rome* to *Terni*, and openly declared, that he intended to make himself master of *Florence*; by which declaration all the *Tuscan Gibelins* resorted to his army, which thereby became very formidable.

THIS impending danger, with the certain accounts the *Danger of Florentines* received at the same time of the great preparations making against them by *Castruccio*, and the petty states which lay towards the foot of the *Appennines*, threw them into the

the utmost consternation; but they soon recovered themselves, and, like men of sense, they resolved to provide against the worst, and to sell their liberties as dear as they could. They summoned their confederates to their assistance; strengthened, repaired, and revictualled their garrisons, and augmented their forces, determining gravely to wait for the event. Two incidents happened which gave them vast relief. The *Sicilian* fleet, commanded by *Peter*, son to the king of *Sicily*, joined by that of the *Genoese Gibelins*, was now at sea; and *Peter* sent several messages to the emperor, entreating him to return to *Rome*. This produced a kind of a negotiation, which relaxed the preparations of the emperor, who had by this time advanced as far as *Arezzo*, and gave the *Florentines* a farther respite. The other incident was far more in their favour; for at this very critical juncture the famous *Castruccio*, their capital enemy, died, being worn out by his military fatigues. His death was followed by that of their other implacable enemy, *Galeazzo*, viscount of *Milan*, which happened at *Peschia*.

Death of
Castruc-
cio.

Good for-
tune of the
Floren-
tines.

THE *Florentines* could scarcely give credit to their good fortune, when they heard of the death of *Castruccio*, who left behind him two sons, yet in their nonage, and under the tutelage of their mother and relations. As soon as the emperor, who was still in treaty with the *Sicilians*, heard of *Castruccio's* death, he went by sea to *Pisa*, and gave over all farther thoughts of molesting the *Florentines*; who, being freed from that terror, thought now of acting offensively. Their first attempt was upon *Artemini*, which had been taken from them by *Castruccio*: they attacked it with so much vigour, that, though it was very well garrisoned, they carried the town, and granted a capitulation to the castle, after eight days siege. In the mean while *Lewis*, who still remained in *Italy*, came to *Pisa*, and there deprived *Castruccio's* children and friends of the government, which he bestowed upon *Tarlatti*, brother to the late bishop of *Arezzo*. From thence he went to *Lucca*, and, notwithstanding all the presents given, and applications made to him by *Castruccio's* widow, he gave the government of that city to one of his own generals; but exacted heavy contributions both there and at *Pisa*, as an acknowledgment for their recovered liberties.

ABOUT this time, to compleat the good fortune of the *Florentines*, their governor *Charles*, son to the king of *Naples*, died. The *Florentines* considered his death as a great deliverance, on account of the prodigious sums of money which his rapacious *Neapolitans* carried from *Florence*. They, there-
fore,

fore, applied themselves to the regulation of their govern- *Alterations*
ment with great assiduity, and instituted two councils for the *in the go-*
management of their most important affairs; one composed *vernment*
of plebeians only; the other, which they called the mixed of Flo-
council, equally of plebeians and nobles. They likewise re- *rence.*
stricted the duration of the gonfalonier's office, from six to
four months.

THIS year the *Florentines* gave a signal proof of the *A. D.*
firmness and wisdom of their government. The emperor *1329.*
Lewis, who was still at *Pisa*, notwithstanding the vast sums
he had exacted of the *Italian* states, was both poor and con-
temptible; and eight hundred of his cavalry left his service
for want of pay. Their design at first was to have surprised
Lucca; but being disappointed, they subsisted by ravaging the
neighbouring country; and at last offered their service to the
Florentines, who, after long deliberation, rejected it, as being
too dangerous for their public liberty. This refusal multi-
plied disorders in the open country; and *Lewis*, being afraid
of the consequences, treated with them, by *Azzo*, now viscount
of *Milan*, who engaged to pay them the arrears they de-
manded. The mutineers accordingly named some agents,
who received the money from *Azzo*, but carried it off to *Ger-*
many; and this disappointment farther incensed the mutineers,
who were the flower of the emperor's army, so that he came
to a resolution of immediately returning to *Germany*. *Cas-*
truccio's sons thought this a favourable opportunity for en-
deavouring to repossess themselves of *Pistoia*, which had like-
wise been taken from them, and garrisoned by *Lewis*; and
drawing together a great number of their father's friends and
followers, they found means to enter the place, but were
soon driven out by the inhabitants.

THE historian of *Florence*^a takes notice, though not in
the order of time, of a kind of *Catilinarian* conspiracy, which
was this year foimed at *Florence*, to burn the city, and admit
into it the troops of *Lewis* and *Castruccio*. We are likewise
told, that upon searching the houses of the inhabitants,
evidences of the plot were discovered; and that, some of the
conspirators being put to death, the city returned to a state
of tranquillity. We are however apt, from the manner in
which this plot is introduced and related, to believe that it
was of the *Florentine* government's own making, to give them
a handle for taking off some citizens they suspected.

THE emperor had now passed the *Apennines* in his return
to *Germany*, in no very creditable circumstances. He had

^a ARETIN. pag. 118.

The History of Florence.

left the pope of his own creation at *Pisa*, in a most forlorn condition; and he was refused admittance into *Milan* by *Azo*, whom, till then, he took to be his creature. During his treaty with the mutineers, who had left his service, he had sent *Marco Visconti*, one of his chief officers, to their camp, as a hostage, and he was there detained; but being a person of great abilities and credit in the army, they no sooner heard of the emperor's departure for *Germany*, than they chose him to be their general, and encamped on an eminence that overlooks *Lucca*. Having now the face of a regular army, the German garrison of *Lucca* put *Marco* in possession of that city, and he offered to give it up to the *Florentines*, on two conditions; first, that the *Florentines* should pay his army all their arrears, which amounted to a very large sum; secondly, that some provision should be made for the family of *Castruccio*, with whom *Marco* lived in the most intimate friendship. The matter was most seriously debated at *Florence*; and *Aretin*^b has given us a very fine speech made by *Pino Tosa*, a *Florentine* nobleman, to persuade his countrymen to accept of the offer. Private animosities, however, prevailed so greatly at that time amongst the *Florentines*, that it was rejected, on pretext that the sum required was too large, and that *Lucca* would entirely fall under the dominion of the *Florentines*, without their being at such an expence.

FLORENCE, from being but a few months before on the brink of perdition, was now at the summit of her glory, courted and revered by all the free states of *Italy*. The *Pistoians* sent a deputation to implore her friendship and protection, which the *Florentines* readily granted.^a The terms were, that all the *Pistoian* exiles should be restored, and that the *Florentines* should be put in possession of *Murli*, *Carmini*, and other places. This advantageous treaty induced the *Florentines* to bestow a particular compliment upon those *Pistoians*, who had been most active in bringing it about. *Giacomo Stroza*, a *Florentine* nobleman, or knight, was deputed by the republic to repair to *Pistoia*, where, in her name, he invested four of the inhabitants with the equestrian honours of *Florence*, and made each of them a handsome present in money. Magnificent public entertainments of feasting and shews were exhibited at the same time. This peace, so honourable for both parties, occasioned many of the proprietors of forts in the territories of *Lucca* to put themselves under the protection of the *Florentines*, and even the *Pisans* had the spirit to expel out of their city *Tarlatti*, the imperial governor.

*Prosperity
of the Flo-
rentines.*

^b Page 119 and 120.

them by *Lewis*, and to call in *Marco Visconti* for their protector. *Visconti* after this repaired to *Florence*, where he was received with distinguished honours, and renewed the negotiation between the *Florentines* and the *German* garrison at *Lucca*. This negotiation proving ineffectual, *Marco* left *Tuscany*; and the *Pisans* immediately offered to strike the bargain which the *Florentines* had rejected, by paying the *Germans* their arrears, on condition of taking possession of *Lucca*. This step was considered by the *Florentines* in so unfavourable a light, that they immediately denounced war against the *Pisans*, and invaded their state. About this time *Catino*, a town which had put itself under the protection of the *Florentines*, expelled their garrison; as did several other places, by the instigation of *Castruccio's* party and family. *Americo Donati*, a *Florentine* nobleman, was appointed to the command of an army for reducing them; in which he succeeded so well, that the *Pisans* now sued for peace and obtained it. *Catino*, however, still held out, and a new scene was opened at *Lucca*. There the *Pisans*, being unable or unwilling to perform their promises to the garrison, *Spinola*, a *Genoise* nobleman of immense riches, was, by the *Germans*, put in possession of the city, and acted with great lenity, in hopes of reconciling the *Lucqueses* to his government, offering, at the same time, to enter into a treaty with the *Florentines*.

THE latter had all along flattered themselves of becoming masters of *Lucca*, without any expence: they therefore rejected all *Spinola's* advances, pressed the siege of *Catino* with more fury than ever, and practised with the garrisons in the neighbourhood to induce them to throw off the *Lucquese* yoke, which some of them did. *Spinola* and the *Lucquese*, upon this, marched against one of the revolted garrisons, which they took, and put all the *Florentines* in it to the sword. They then returned home in high spirits, to make new and more powerful levies for the relief of *Catino*, being encouraged by a report that they were to be strongly supported by the emperor. This extraordinary shew of resolution in the *Lucquese* determined the *Florentines* to more vigorous operations against the town, which they now compleatly surrounded with a strong rampart and ditch, the last being filled with water from a neighbouring river. According to the *Florentine* historian^a, this work would have done honour even to the old *Romans*. He tells us, the ditch and the rampart ran through a level plain six miles in length; that where it was impossible to carry it on, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, a

^a LEON. ARST. Hist. Flor. p. 122.

wall was run up, which was strengthened with bastions at a small distance from one another; and that the compass of the whole was about twelve miles. *Spinola*, however, receiving a reinforcement of *German* horse, attacked this fortification with great obstinacy; but it was beaten off, through the excellent dispositions made by the *Florentines*, who seem in this siege to have copied the conduct of *Castruccio* at the siege of *Pistoia*. At the extremity of the ditch lay the castle of *Sevia*, and, by reason of its great distance from the *Lucquesse*, the guard was but slight in that quarter. *Spinola*, understanding this, marched in the night-time a body of troops, which forced their way within the *Florentine* entrenchments, being favoured by a strong attack which the *Lucquesse* made upon another quarter. The *Florentines*, however, perceived their danger, by their enemies drawing off from the attack as soon as their party made a signal of their having entered the entrenchments, and hastening to support them. The *Florentines*, being nearest to the place of danger, were the first who attacked them, and fought with such vigour, that the *Germans* and *Lucquesse*, who had entered the entrenchments, were either driven out of them, or obliged to take refuge in *Catino*. This disappointment did not daunt the spirit of the *Lucquesse*, who, in their attack at *Serra*, made *Giacomo Medici*, a noble *Florentine* knight, prisoner. The operations were carried on with infinite obstinacy on both sides; but so much to the advantage of the *Florentines*, who were perpetually relieving one another from their capital, that *Spinola* was at last forced to retreat to *Pescaia*; and the garrison of *Catino*, unable to hold longer out, surrendered the place upon an honourable capitulation. The *Florentines* debated long amongst themselves, whether they should demolish *Catino*; but the strength and importance of its situation determined them to preserve it.

The Flo-
rentines
besiege
Lucca.

THE success of the siege of *Catino*, and some other advantages obtained about the same time, gave such reputation and spirit to the *Florentines*, that they resolved to besiege *Lucca* itself; to which they were greatly encouraged by the losses the *Lucquesse* had lately received, their now having no allies they could depend upon for relief, and the distressed state of the emperor's affairs in *Germany*. The anti-pope, who had been created by the emperor, after skulking for some time about *Italy*, was sent prisoner by the archbishop of *Pisa* to his rival *John XXII.* before whom he presented himself with a halter about his neck, and was by him committed to prison; he died three years after. The *Florentines*, having now no where an enemy in *Italy* they could dread, laid a vigorous siege to *Lucca*, and made themselves masters of all the neighbouring fortifications.

cations. The place was defended by *Spinola*, who was on the point of giving it up, when affairs took a sudden turn against the besiegers. About the year 1331, *John* king of *Bohemia*, son to the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, marched with an army into *Lombardy*, in quality of vicar of the empire. Having reduced *Brescia*, and a great many places in that neighbourhood, *Bergamo* particularly, he received a deputation from *Spinola* and the *Lucquese*, offering to put themselves under his protection, provided he would raise the siege. *John* had his reasons for attempting to sooth the *Florentines*, and sent an ambassador to *Florence* to prevail with the magistracy and people to recal their troops from before *Lucca*; but all applications of that kind proved ineffectual, and *John* marched with his army to raise the siege. This would have been no easy matter, had not a spirit of mutiny happened at that very time to take possession of the *Florentine* troops, who had insulted the *Lucquese* with the most wanton abuse; so that the *Florentine* generals thought proper to draw off their army, *The siege is* after having continued for almost five months before the place. *raised.*

Simon, a noble *Pistoian*, who acted as *John's* general, upon the retreat of the *Florentines*, found an easy admittance into *Lucca*; and, after establishing his master's authority there, he entered the *Florentine* dominions at the head of twelve hundred horse and two thousand foot, and having laid them waste, he returned without any loss to *Lucca*: an insult for which he must have dearly paid, had it not been for the jealousies and divisions which still reigned amongst the *Florentines*. About this time *John* made himself master of *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Modena*, and other places; so that he grew very formidable in *Italy*. He found, however, that he could not maintain his ground without leaguings himself with the pope; and, to the amazement of all *Europe*, from being mortal enemies, they ran into a strict alliance with one another. His holiness, on this occasion, employed his legate at *Bologna* as his plenipotentiary; and though he hated *John*, yet he knew his affairs were so embarrassed in *Germany*, that he must be quickly obliged to quit *Italy*, and therefore that his conquests could not be very permanent. *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*, had hitherto continued faithfully attached to the pope; but seeing this unnatural conjunction between his holiness and *John*, they entered into a confederacy with *Genoa*, both, in which they were joined by several of the other *Italian* states. The consequence of this alliance was, that the *Pis-
tians* put themselves under the protection of *Florence*, and even admitted a *Florentine* garrison into their city. Continuing however to exercise the outward marks of government,

ment, they were considered neither as being the subjects nor the allies of *Florence*. The *Lucquesse*, about the same time, besieged and took possession of the small town of *Barga*, which was under the *Florentine* protection, the *Florentines* in vain endeavouring to raise the siege.

The system
of power
in Italy al-
tered.

By this time the whole system of power in *Italy* was changed; but it must be said, to the glory of the *Florentines*, that they stuck much firmer than any other *Italian* state did to the principles of their constitutional independency. *John*, king of *Bohemia*, had been obliged to return to *Germany*; but he had left his son *Charles* at the head of his affairs and armies in *Italy*. The strict alliance that still subsisted between *Charles* and the legate of *Bologna*, at last prevailed with the princes of *Ferrara*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, and even *Milan*, though *Azo*, as we have already seen, was the sworn foe of *Florence*, to join in the confederacy with the *Florentines* and the king of *Naples*: and we may form some estimate of the several degrees of power the parties were possessed of, by the contingents each was obliged to send to their common defence; for of three thousand horse which they agreed to bring into the field, the *Florentines* were to furnish six hundred; the king of *Naples* as many; *Mastino*, prince (who was commonly then called Dog) of *Verona*, eight hundred; *Azo*, viscount of *Milan*, six hundred; and the princes or dukes (for their titles at this time were as unsettled as their power) of *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, two hundred each. The legate was making war in the *Ferrarese* when he heard of this powerful confederacy taking place; and he immediately sent deputies to expostulate with the *Florentines*, and, if possible, to draw them off from the alliance. The answer returned by the *Florentines* was modest, but firm: they represented the great services they had often done to the see of *Rome*; but seemed surprised at being reproached for entering into measures against the son and grandson of the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, who had been their mortal enemy. This situation of affairs in *Italy*, recalled *John* king of *Bohemia* from *Germany*, and he was met by his son *Charles* at *Parma*. Here he learned, that *Mastino* of *Verona* had seized *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, as *Azo* had *Pavia*. *Charles*, who brought back with him a small but choice army, endeavoured to retake *Pavia*, and to relieve the citadel, which still held out; but being baffled by *Azo*, he was obliged to retreat to *Parma*, after laying waste the *Milanese*. His confederate the legate had better success. He beat the *Ferrarese* in a pitched battle, and laid siege to *Ferrara* itself. The besieged immediately applied for assistance to the *Florentines*, who appeared very willing to relieve them; but found it an enter-

enterprize of great difficulty, the victorious legate being in possession of all the country of *Romagna* and the *Bolognese*, as *John's* troops were of all the strong important passes by the way of *Modena* and *Parma*. The *Florentines*, however, that they might not be wanting to their allies, sent them four hundred horse, under the command of two young noblemen, *Siroza* and *Scala*, by the long detours of *Genoa*, *Milan*, and *Verona*, in all which cities they were received with the greatest respect and affection. They arrived at *Verona* just as king *John* and the legate were preparing to give a general assault to *Ferrara*, and the king was for that purpose bringing a reinforcement from *Parma*. They were prevented by the ardour of the *Florentines*, who no sooner threw themselves into *Ferrara* than they resolved to attack the camp of the besiegers. The *Florentine* historian is, with great justice, proud of his countrymen's behaviour, on this occasion, against the best troops of *Germany*, whom they defeated with great slaughter, or drove into the *Po*, where numbers were drowned by the breaking down of the bridge. The victory was so complete, that all *Romagna* revolted from the legate; and *Bologna* would have done the same, had it not been kept in awe by *John's* German horde. While *John* was thus employed in assisting the legate, *Cyprian's* sons, having drawn together a large body of their father's friends, who were still very numerous in *Italy*, surprised *Lucca*; but the citadel holding out, *John* made a quick march, and dispossessed them of their new conquest. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over *Italy*; and the bridges at *Florence*, over the *Arno*, being broken down, it appeared like two cities, which gave some uneasiness to the jealous plebeians, lest the nobles, who lived in a separate quarter, should make use of that opportunity to cabal against their liberty; but the public resumed its tranquillity when the loss was repaired by some temporary bridges.

S E C T. V.

Containing the History of the war between Florence and Scaliger, prince of Verona. The *Florentines* purchase *Arezzo*; they are defeated by the *Pisans*; chuse the duke of Athens for their stadtholder, or governor; conspiracies against him; he is driven out. Diffentions in Florence; ascendancy of the people.

It was now high time for the confederate states to consult measures for their future operations, and to divide their conquests. Deputies from all of them met at *Lerice*, then be-

^b ARISTIN. pag. 126.

longing to the *Genoese*. Here great disputes arose: at last it was determined, that the viscount of *Milan* should keep possession of *Cremona*, the prince of *Verona* of *Parma*, the duke of *Mantua* of *Reggio*, the duke of *Ferrara* of *Modena*, and the *Florentines* of *Pisa*. It is to be observed, that some of those territories remained still to be conquered; but the confederates agreed not to lay down their arms till each was in full possession of his allotment, which determined them to prosecute the war with double vigour. They began with the legate, a *Frenchman* by birth, and in his manners insolent, severe, and haughty beyond expression. He had fled to *Bologna*, after the victory; the confederates had obtained near *Ferrara*; but the emperor being now returned to *Germany*, he was so unpopular at *Bologna*, that the inhabitants ran to arms, beat his guards, and forced him to fly to the citadel, which he had built for bridling that city, and to which the *Bolognese* laid close siege. The *Florentines*, though they had no reason to be satisfied with the legate's person, yet they could not consider his character without wishing to save him. They therefore sent four deputies, with three hundred horse and a large body of foot, to *Bologna*, where the deputies mediated for the legate; and with infinite difficulty, after negotiating for several days, it was agreed, that his passage should be safe, upon his surrendering the citadel to the townsmen. The people, however, held the legate in such abhorrence, that they would have torn him to pieces, had he not been guarded by the *Florentines*, night and day. He was first carried to *Florence*, and from thence to *Pisa*, where he embarked for the pope's dominions, who was still at *Avignon*.

The German mercenaries mutiny.

AMONGST the unconquered places, partitioned out by the treaty of *Lerice*, was *Parma*, which was now besieged by the confederates, while the *Florentines* undertook that of *Lucca*. The rendezvous of all the confederates being before *Parma*, the *Florentines* demanded that a body of troops should march over the *Appennines*, to assist them at the siege of *Lucca*. In the mean while, the legate, by his intrigues and money, having debauched the *German* mercenaries who served in the confederate army, they mutinied, and threw themselves into *Parma*. Their desertion obliged *Scaliger* (A), prince of *Verona*, to raise the siege of *Parma*, and the *Florentines* to give up the siege of *Lucca*. The siege of *Parma* was soon after resumed by *Scaliger*, and the *Florentines* made dispositions for

(A) This was his true name; and the two learned *Scaligers*, *Joseph* and *Julius*, pretended that he was their immediate ancestor. He was called the *Mas-*

tino, or *Mastiff* of *Verona*, from a dream, concerning a mastiff dog, which his mother pretended she had, when she was with child by him.

carrying on that of *Lucca*; upon which *John* king of *Bohemia*, as sovereign, made a present of that city to the *French* king. A vast number of *Florentine* merchants, men of great property, resided then in *France*; and that king immediately intimated to them the gift that had been made him, in hopes that their interest would prevail with their countrymen to give over the siege of *Lucca*. But he was deceived; for the *Florentines* still continued their preparations; and the *French* king being informed by the king of *Naples*, that *John* had disposed of a territory in which he had no legal property, the claim was dropt. This year, viz. 1334, died pope *John XXII.* and his death gave a great turn to the affairs of *Italy*. He was succeeded by *Benedict XII.* who, like his predecessor, resided at *Avignon*. The *Florentines*, the better to succeed in their designs against *Lucca*, negotiated a treaty with *Peter*, the governor or prince of *Arezzo*, who had employed the great treasures, left him by his brother the bishop, in dispossessing the neighbouring noblemen of their fiefs and castles. This drove them, particularly *Nerio Fagiolani*, the son of the *Fagiolani* who had been dispossessed by *Castruccio*, to league themselves with the *Perugians*, who hated *Peter*; and *Nerio* surprised *Burgo*, a town about fourteen miles from *Arezzo*; but the castle holding out, *Peter* prepared to march to its relief. The *Perugians* endeavoured to divert him, by invading the territories of *Arezzo*; but were defeated with great slaughter by *Peter*. The *Florentines*, upon this, mindful that the *Perugians* had been their ancient allies, took part with them, and broke off their treaty with *Peter*, who was supported by the *Genoese*. This attachment of the *Florentines* to their allies, was to them more honourable than advantageous. *Scaliger* was by this time in possession of *Parma*, as the duke of the *Florentines* was of *Reggio*, and the *Ferrarese* of *Modena*. In short, all parties in the confederacy, *Florence* excepted, were in the quiet possession of the spoils allotted them.

WHEN *John* king of *Bohemia* left *Italy*, he committed the government of *Parma* and *Lucca* to three brothers, called *Ruffo*, nobles of *Parma*. Two of them commanded in that city when it was taken by the *Veronese*; and it was agreed that the third brother should surrender *Lucca* to *Scaliger*, upon certain terms. The *Florentines*, far from opposing this convention, forwarded it, in hopes that *Scaliger* would make no other use of it than that of facilitating their taking possession of *Lucca*. *Scaliger*, accordingly, having promised to repay to the three brothers a large sum they had advanced to the king of *Bohemia*, took possession of *Lucca*; but when the *Florentines*, by their deputies, demanded that the terms of the confederacy should be fulfilled, he required that the money he repaid

repaid should be refunded, to him. The sum was no less than three hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold (B), which may answer to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The cunning *Veronese* thought that the mention of so much money would deter the *Florentines* from prosecuting their demand; but as *Aretin*^a justly observes, it is almost incredible to what extremes their public spirit often drove them: for they, who, but twelve or fourteen months before, had refused to pay the fourth part of that sum to the *Germans* for the same end, offered to raise it for *Scaliger*; who thereupon invented other pretexts for delay; and the *Florentine* deputies, perceiving they were tripped with, returned home. *Scaliger* foresaw the consequences, and was the first to take the field: upon which the *Florentines* immediately declared war against *Scaliger*, the *Veronese*, and all his abettors in his injustice.

Power of
Scaliger.

THE reader is to observe, that *Scaliger* was at this time one of the richest and most powerful princes in *Lombardy*. Being in possession not only of *Verona*, but of *Parma* and *Lucca*, besides a vast number of other places along the *Appennines*, his dominions had a ready communication one with another, and he was sure of having the *Pisans* for his friends. Add to this, that his court and army were rendezvous for all the malcontents of *Italy*; and being naturally vain, as well as ambitious, he was in hopes of becoming master of all *Tuscany*.

General
reflection.

AFTER the many expensive and bloody wars that the *Florentines*, for half a century past, had maintained by turns against almost all the states of *Italy*, and sometimes against the most powerful princes in *Europe*, it is astonishing to think with what spirit they entered upon hostilities with their new enemy of *Verona*. But we are to consider, that, by means of their foreign commerce, the encouragement they gave to all ingenious arts, the strictness of their discipline, and the regularity of their government, they were now prodigiously rich; but their riches, far from enervating them, inspired them with ideas of rivalling the old *Romans*, not only in their sentiments, but their power. They proceeded, however, to war with the greatest œconomy, regularity, and resolution. They appointed twelve treasurers for raising the public money, and six managers for distributing it in the service of the field, and for attending the camp and councils of war. They sent deputies to *Milan*, and to all their confederates in *Lombardy*, to

^a Page 128.

(B) We have in this transaction followed *Manetti*, who wrote after *Aretin* (1).

(1). Vide *Manetti apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 1055.*

repre-

represent to them the falshood and treachery of *Scaliger*; and they renewed their alliance with *Perugia* and *Sienna*, in order to give a diversion to *Peter* of *Arezzo*, if he should join with *Scaliger*. The *Perugians*, animated by the *Florentines*, attacked the territory of *Arezzo*, and surpris'd *Citta di Castello*; which discourag'd the *Arezzians* so greatly, that many of their forts fell into the hands of the *Florentines*.

WE are not to forget, for the honour of *Florence*, that while she was thus prosecuting an expensive war, she was cultivating the arts of peace, to more perfection than they were to be found in any other part of the world. Though the *Greeks* had not yet imported their literature into *Italy*, the *Florentines* had reformed themselves from that barbarous taste in the fine arts, that still continued to infect all the rest of *Europe*. *Giotto* at this time worked in *Florence*, where he was in great reputation; and though he cannot be said to have carried the arts of architecture and painting to the perfection they afterwards attained, yet the good manner he introduced in both had more merit over the barbarous state in which he found them, than any after improvements had over him. This year, according to *Arctin*, viz. 1335, he founded, and afterwards brought to perfection, the famous quadrangular marble tower, said to be one hundred and forty-four ells in height, which now stands near the cathedral of *Florence*.

THE war still continued; but *Scaliger* being obliged to go to *Verona*, the scene of action lay in the *Arezzian* territories, which the *Florentines* and *Perugians* ravaged with vast fury. Intelligence came, in the mean while, that *Scaliger* was advancing through the *Romagna*, against *Florence*, with eight hundred horse; upon which the *Florentines* sent an army to join their allies the *Bolognese*, and to intercept his march. This news encouraged the garrison of *Lucca* to make some incursions upon the *Florentine* territories, and the *Florentines* attempted to transfer the seat of the war to *Lombardy*; but *Scaliger* was so formidable there, that they could get no state to join them but that of *Venice*, which became now jealous of the neighbourhood of *Verona* to that of some of their territories. In consequence of this alliance, a body of *Florentine* troops marched to *Treviso*, where they were joined by some *Florentines*, and entered into hostilities against the *Veronese*. By this time, the brothers, the *Ruffi*, finding that *Scaliger* trifled with them, as he had done with the *Venetians*, and refused to pay the money he had promised them, were, for their representations on that head, expelled out of *Lucca*, and threw themselves into the town of *Pontremoli*, where they were besieged; but were, upon their application, taken into the

BUSCHING'S New System of Geography, vol. iii. p. 122.

alliance of the *Florentines* and *Venetians*. The siege of *Pontremoli* still continuing, *Petr Ruffo*, who was esteemed an excellent officer, repaired to *Florence*, and offered to the magistracy there to give them possession of *Lucca*, if they would put him at the head of a body of troops for that purpose. He accordingly received eight hundred horse, and marched against that place. His true design was to draw off, to the defence of *Lucca*, the troops that were employed at the siege of *Pontremoli*. The *Italians*, as yet, knew little of the art of besieging places, farther than blockading them, and forcing them to surrender by famine; so that the governor of *Lucca*, leaving a few to man the walls, fell, with all the other troops he could assemble, upon the *Florentine* territories. This obliged *Ruffo* to draw off from *Lucca*, and a battle soon followed; in which the *Florentines*, with great difficulty, came off conquerors, *Scaliger's* general being made prisoner, with many others, and a great number killed in the pursuit. Two days after this, the *Florentine* army returned in triumph to that city, where *Ruffo*, on the credit of his late victory, was appointed general of the combined army of the *Venetians* and *Florentines* serving against *Scaliger* in *Lombardy*. *Ruffo* behaved so well in his new command, that he gained a vast number of advantages over the enemy, and drove them to the walls of *Padua*, which was then in possession of *Scaliger*. *Ruffo* however could not bring the *Veronese*, though they were greatly superior to him in number, to a battle; and therefore he besieged *Bovolenta*, which lies within seven miles of *Padua*. His attacks were so furious, that *Scaliger* thought now of nothing but covering *Verona*. He found means, however, to bring over, by the force of money, to his interest one thousand *German* horse, who served as mercenaries in *Ruffo's* army, who, setting fire to the camp of the confederates, marched off in the night-time. *Ruffo*, undaunted by this desertion, repaired the damage his camp had sustained, and continued his operations, being still at the head of a formidable army. The other states of *Lombardy*, now seeing the danger of *Scaliger*, whom they all hated, entered into the confederacy against him; and a great army of *Milaneze*, *Ferrarese*, and *Mantuan*s, with *Lucino Visconti* at their head, rendezvoused at *Mantua*, intending to proceed against *Verona* itself. At the same time *Charles* son of *John* king of *Bohemia*, took *Belluno* and *Beltri*.

The courage and conduct of *Scaliger*.

SCALIGER, though surrounded by so many powerful enemies, was not deficient in his conduct, either as a warrior or a statesman. As *Lucino*, who by this time had been joined by a detachment of two thousand four hundred horse, under *Marsilio*, *Ruffo's* brother, had marched within a few miles of

Viro-

Verona, he left that city at the head of three thousand horse and a body of foot, and offered battle to the confederates, which *Lucino* declined, though his army was greatly superior to that of *Scaliger*. This cowardice, or treachery of *Lucino*, so disgusted the troops under his command, that they immediately left the service. Upon this, *Scaliger*, to improve his good fortune, took post three miles below *Bovalenta*, where *Ruffo* was still encamped, with a view of intercepting *Marsilio* in his return to join his brother^f. *Aretin* tells us, *Ruffo* was at this time in such danger, that he ordered his soldiers to gather great quantities of bitter herbs, which grew in the neighbourhood, and to throw them into the waters of the *Brent*, which supplied *Scaliger's* army, and which thereby became so bitter as to be rendered unserviceable both to man and horse; so that *Scaliger* was obliged to decamp, and *Marsilio* rejoined his brother. *Ruffo*, without losing time, marched directly to *Padua*; where the citizens, instigated by *Ubertino Carra*, opened the gates to his army, and cut in pieces *Scaliger's* garrison, which was commanded by his brother *Alberto*, who was sent prisoner to *Venice*. But the joy which this important conquest occasioned at *Venice* and *Florence*, was quickly damped by the death of *Ruffo*, who, in storming *Monselice*, a place in the neighbourhood, received a wound in his thigh, which proved mortal upon his return to *Padua*. He was survived but a few days by his brother *Marsilio*, who died of grief at the loss of *Ruffo*. About this time the *Milanese* made themselves masters of *Brescia*.

PETER, surnamed *Saco*, had still possession of *Arezzo*, *The Flo-* and was strongly solicited by the *Arezzians* to make peace with *rentines* the *Florentines* and their allies. This application served only *purchase* to render *Peter* jealous of the *Arezzians*; and he resolved *Arezzo*; to make the best terms he could with the *Florentines*, having many reasons for not trusting the *Perugians*. The bargain was soon struck. *Peter* agreed to deliver up *Arezzo*, and all its dependencies, for ten years, into the hands of the *Florentines*, upon condition that he himself, whose mother was a *Florentine*, and his kinsmen, should, from thenceforward, be deemed citizens of *Florence*; that they should remain in possession of all their private estates and effects; that *Peter* should receive forty thousand crowns; and that *twelve* thousand more, which he had borrowed from the *Arezzians*, should be paid to his mercenaries for their arrears. This negotiation, being finished, twelve *Florentine* noblemen immediately repaired to *Arezzo*, where, to the great joy of the people, they took possession of that government.

^f LEONARD. ARETIN. p. 134.

which is reclaimed by the Perugians; THE *Perugians* complained bitterly of this proceeding, as being expressly against the treaties subsisting between them; and sent deputies to *Florence*, who exclaimed in very harsh terms against the *Florentines*. The answer of the latter (for *Arezzo* has given us the speeches of both, or rather, has made speeches for them) recriminated in as sharp terms, by accusing the *Perugians* of insincerity, and telling them, that no terms ought to be kept with traitors. Upon cooler thoughts, however, both parties came to an accommodation, and the *Perugians* obtained possession of some towns of no great consequence in the *Arezzian* territory. *Scaliger*, hearing of those transactions, reinforced his garrison of *Lucca* under *Accio*, one of his generals; upon which the *Florentines* again took the field, and ravaged the territories of *Lucca*. This term, however, occurs so often in the *Florentine* historians, and the practice is so often repeated, that we cannot believe that it means any more than a body of troops subsisting for a few months, on free quarter, amongst their enemies; and, in so fertile a country as *Italy*, the damage they did being generally repaired by next season, the like inroads were renewed.

The Veronese invaded by the Florentines; NEXT year the *Florentines* and *Venetians* invaded the *Veronese*; and after insulting that city for some days, and gaining several advantages, they laid siege to *Vicenza*. This obliged *Scaliger* to send a reputation to *Venice* to treat of peace, which was so favourably received, that the terms were soon settled. The marquisate of *Trevise*, one of the most delightful countries in *Italy*, with that city and territory, was ceded by *Scaliger* to the *Venetians*; and a proviso was left in the treaty, that, if the *Florentines* should incline to come into the peace, they should be put into possession of *Pescia* and *Bugiani*, and remain masters of all their conquests in the *Lucchese* territory. It was likewise stipulated, that all the *Lucchese* exiles, who served in the combined army, should be re-admitted to their estates and privileges in that city. The negotiation thus ended, the treaty was communicated to the *Florentines*, who, after long debates, disapproved of it; but sent three of their first noblemen to try if they could negotiate better terms at *Venice*. This was found impracticable; and the terms the *Venetians* had stipulated for them were agreed to, all parties being heartily tired of the war.

who enjoy some years of peace. THE *Florentines*, after this, continued for some years in peace, and unmolested by any of their neighbours. This recess from the labours of the field, and a few seasons that were unfavourable for the productions of the earth, together with some accidental storms of thunder and lightning, filled the minds of the *Florentines*, who were naturally superstitious, with

with many dismal apprehensions. These perhaps were greatly increased by an adnumberment of all the citizens living within *Florence*, which took place in the year 1339, who were found to amount to ninety thousand, which is twenty thousand more (C) than it is supposed to contain at present.

This adnumberment was occasioned by the magistrates wanting, in the time of scarcity, to ascertain the quantities of provisions which it might be necessary to import. Next year a plague broke out in *Florence*, which carried off sixteen thousand people in its city and territories. About the same time intestine divisions put the *Florentines* in arms, on account of a foreign magistrate who had been advanced to the government of the city, for two years, by the heads of the plebeians. His name is not mentioned by *Aretin*; but he tells us, that two great families, the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi*, put themselves at the head of the nobility, with an intention to overturn the magistracy; but they were, appointed by the spirit of the people, who immediately ran to arms, and obliged the nobility to abandon their undertaking. The people then returned peaceably home; but the chief of the nobility were impeached before the presidents, and none of them crossing the *Arno*, to appear in their own defence, sentence passed against them; in consequence of which their houses were demolished, and applications made to all the states confederated with *Florence* not to receive or protect them; so that the exiles were obliged to take shelter in *Pisa*, the ancient and natural enemy of *Florence*.

A. D.
1340.

Tumults in
Florence.

SOON after this, the *Mantuan*s encouraged the people of *Parma* to throw off *Scaliger's* yoke; and he found himself so hardly beset by the *Mantuan*s cutting off all communication between *Verona* and *Lucca*, that it was plain he could not keep the latter. The *Florentines* and the *Pisans* immediately became competitors for the prize, which was fairly put up by *Scaliger* at public auction, to be carried by the best bidder. The *Florentines* outbid the *Pisans*, by offering for the place two hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

The Florentines
purchase
Lucca.

• (C) See *Busching*, tom. iii. p. 121. We are not, however, quite satisfied whether, under the word *cives*, *Aretin*, from whom the above adnumberment is taken, comprehends all the inhabitants, men, women, children, and servants. That he does not, seems most probable; be-

cause of the vast armies, sometimes amounting in the whole to above thirty thousand men, that we have mentioned to have marched out of *Florence*, the number of fighting men by far too great to be furnished by a city that contained no more than ninety thousand inhabitants.

The History of Florence.

THE *Florentines* being thus in possession of *Arezzo*, and likely to be so of *Lucca*, by means of the wealth they had gained in commerce, began now to be dreaded all over *Italy*. The *Pisans*, irritated by their disappointment of acquiring *Lucca*, set on foot a general confederacy against them, into which *Lucino*, who, by the death of *Azzo*, was now viscount of *Milan*; and all *Scaliger's* enemies, who were very numerous, entered, as did the *Milanese*, the *Mantuan*s, the *Parmesans*, and the *Paduans*; all of whom sent their contingencies of troops to assist the *Pisans* in the siege of *Lucca*, which was now formed. The *Florentines* upon this, having formally required of the *Pisans* to raise the siege, invaded the *Pisan* territories; but the siege was pressed more warmly than ever. *Lucca* was still in the possession of *Scaliger*, who now summoned the *Florentines*, to fulfil their bargain; and the latter were so generous, that they agreed to pay all the sum they had bargained for, but twenty thousand crowns, and gave hostages for the payment. Still a difficulty remained of the *Florentines* taking possession, which at last was removed by their breaking through the *Pisan* army; and no sooner were they masters of the city and citadel, than they relieved their hostages by paying the stipulated money.

and in-
vade the
Pisan ter-
ritories.

They are
defeated.

THIS event gave infinite joy and spirits to the *Florentines*, who saw the *Pisan* camp from the walls of *Lucca*. The garrison was so strong, and the place so well provided with every thing, that the *Pisan* army must have returned home without any farther attempt, had not the *Florentines* within the city precipitately resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. This attack was made within eight days after the *Florentines* became masters of *Lucca*. The *Pisans* were commanded by *Giovanni Visconti*, and *Enrico, Castruccio's* son, served under him; as did all the *Florentine* exiles, who formed the most considerable part of his army, which was drawn up in three lines, as that of the *Florentines* was in two. The first line of the latter consisted of two hundred chosen knights on horseback, supported by three thousand cross-bow-men; and they made so furious a charge, that they drove the first line of the *Pisans* back upon their second, where they took prisoners *Visconti* the *Pisan* general, and *Enrico, Castruccio's* son, with several other persons of great quality; but the third line of the *Pisans* supporting the disordered troops of their two first lines, victory was snatched from the *Florentines*, whose second line was so far from supporting their first, that they fled to *Pescia* without striking a stroke. The first line of the *Florentines*, being thus left exposed, suffered greatly, and victory declared herself in favour of the *Pisans*: the re-

mains

mains of the first line however bravely fought their way back to *Lucca*.

THE loss the *Florentines* received in this defeat was far less than was at first reported at *Florence*. They remained in possession of all their standards, and their illustrious prisoners; and the government, having recovered its first consternation, applied, by deputies, to *Robert* king of *Sicily* for protection, offering at the same time to submit, as usual, to any prince of his blood whom he should send as his governor or viceroy at *Florence*. *Robert* received the deputies very coldly, and insisted upon the rendition of *Lucca* to him, as being his property, and torn from him by the treachery of *Fagiolani*. The *Florentines* had foreseen this demand, and they instructed their deputies to comply with it; but *Robert*, suspecting they would insist upon the payment of the money, it had cost them, declined interesting himself farther, than by sending an ambassador to dissuade the *Pisans* from continuing the siege of *Lucca*, which he affirmed to be his property. The *Pisans* returned him good words, but continued the siege with greater vigour than ever.

THE *Florentine* affairs wearing thus a bad aspect, the people began to suspect, perhaps without any grounds, that *Peter Saco*, the late lord of *Arezzo*, would seize that opportunity to reinstate himself in that government. *Peter* was then living in one of his castles in the country; and the *Florentine* magistracy, as if they had been convinced of their danger, ordered the people to take arms and to surround the place. The madness of popular jealousy did not stop here. *Tarlati*, brother to *Peter*, was then one of the most distinguished officers in the *Florentine* army; and it was chiefly by his means that the remains of their first line had made so noble a retreat, as they did, to *Lucca*. But his conduct being irreproachable, the people grew the more jealous of his credit in the army, and of the power he might thereby acquire to favour his brother. An order, therefore, was sent from *Florence* to put him under arrest at *Lucca*, which was obeyed without confining him to prison; and he was allowed to ride abroad in company with *Giacomo Medici*, the *Florentine* governor of *Lucca*. One day, as they were reconnoitring on horseback without the gates, *Tarlati* put spurs to his horse, and fled to the *Pisan* camp. His escape confirmed the *Florentines* in their worst suspicions of *Peter's* designs; and under forcing him and all his relations to surrender themselves, they were brought to *Florence*, where they were committed to prison, while all their fine palaces in that city were demolished, and their castles in the country taken.

and dis-
tress.

THE *Florentines* being disappointed of assistance from the king of *Naples*, were advised by *Scaliger* to apply to the emperor *Lewis*, who was about this time at *Trent*, and who was greatly exasperated against the *Pisans*, as well as a mortal enemy to the pope and the king of *Naples*. Though this advice was plausible, and supported by a great party in *Florence*, yet the people were so prepossessed against the emperor, that no progress was made in the negotiation. Upon this the *Florentines* took two thousand horse into their pay, besides six hundred they hired of the *Ferrarese*, and five hundred of *Scaliger*, all which joined to their own troops made a formidable army; and they preferred *Malatesta* of *Rimini*, a celebrated general of those times, to the command of it. Early in the spring he marched to the relief of *Lucca*, which continued still besieged by the *Pisans*; but the swelling of the rivers, and the badness of the roads by the rains, frustrated his expedition; and the *Florentines* were driven to their usual recourse of ravaging their enemy's country. Notwithstanding this the *Pisans* still continued the siege of *Lucca*, which being now reduced to the last extremity, the garrison capitulated to deliver up the place upon honourable terms for themselves, in the ninth month of the siege. This, according to *Aretina*, is a shameful period in the *Florentine* history; and yet it is easy to account for, by reflecting upon the unreasonable jealousy the *Florentines* entertained of their nobles: This jealousy disqualified the nobles from the command of their armies, and led them to apply to the gainful arts of commerce, which seems, in fact, to have been their principal inducement to expend so much blood and treasure as they did, in acquiring and maintaining the possession of *Lucca*.

Their di-
visions.

THEIR relentments at the loss of that city hurried them into far greater calamities, by inspiring them with animosities amongst themselves, each party blaming the other for its misconduct, and all of them disagreeing about the means of recovering from their distresses (D), though all of them agreed upon the fatal expedient of preferring *Gualtieri*, the titular duke of *Athens*, to be their general. He was by birth a *Lombard*; and having served in their former wars under *Charles* prince of *Naples*, was well acquainted with their dispositions, the nature of their government, and the state of

ARETINA pag. 138.

(D) Upon this occasion *Ma-*
retti quotes *Aretina* and his words,
which fixes the priority in point

of time to the latter; a circum-
stance which otherwise might
have been doubtful.

their

their parties. He was at *Naples* when the *Florentines* invited him to take upon him, not only the command of their army, but the government of their city. Their good opinion of him was greatly increased by the modesty of his retinue when he entered their capital. It soon appeared how much they were deceived. That age abounded with soldiers of fortune; and *Gualtieri* was one who erected vast projects upon a very moderate share of abilities to support them. He had long portioned out the dominion of *Florence* to himself, and his ambition being now gratified in part, he studied how to make himself absolute, and to ingross the whole of the government. His history, and that of his new subjects, on this occasion is instructive. The state of *Florence*, like almost all other states, consisted of three kinds of people. The first were the nobles, who, by the constitution of the government, had been so long accustomed to the exercise of trade and other arts, that far from thinking it to be a disgrace to their nobility, they boasted of their industry, and began now to look upon wealth as the best nobility. Not only their fortunes, but their ideas, being raised above those of the vulgar, a kind of an antipathy subsisted between them, which was confirmed by the democratical nature of their government. The next class was the middling sort, who, with plain strong sense and great industry, had acquired moderate fortunes, and who, in a regular state, ought properly to be termed the people. These affected no public changes or revolutions, but those that were absolutely indispensable to the security of their property. The last class was the plebeians, who hated the first class, and envied the second.

GUALTIERI had sagacity enough to perceive that the second class would be the great obstacle to his ambition. The nobility had submitted to him, because they thought his power was but temporary, and that they had at any time interest enough to displace him as soon as he had answered their end, in abolishing the democratical part of the constitution, which they had never ceased to consider as an invasion of their rights. *Gualtieri* admitted them so far into the secret of his conduct, as to acquaint them that he intended to bend the chief force of his power against the middling citizens, which would enable him more effectually to serve the nobility, but that he could not succeed without making himself extremely popular amongst the lower ranks, and that, however he proceeded, the nobility must appear neutral. The reader is here to observe that the *Arezzians*, the *Viterrans*, and the *Pisceans*, had followed the example of the *Florentines* in choosing *Gualtieri* for their stadtholder, which is the term that

limitations that it had been yielded before to *Robert* prince of *Naples*. The tyrant, however, had taken his measures so well, that he was ushered into the assembly by some of the principal nobility, and his person was guarded by a number of Florentines, with arms concealed under their cloaths. One of the presidents rising from his seat, made the motion agreed upon the night before; but he was interrupted by a general cry, that they would have *Gualtieri* for their governor without any limitations. The president being thus deterred from farther opposition, the nobility carried the tyrant on their shoulders to the palace, where they placed him in the chair of state.

AREZZO and *Pistoia* continued still to be under the *Florentines*; but *Gualtieri*, under the plausible pretence of abolishing that subjection, now received them under his own immediate dominion, and placed governors in both. He then made some alterations in the graceful peace with the *Pisans*. The terms were, that they should possess *Lucca* for fifteen years, and then restore it to its liberty; and that in the mean while the *Lucquese* exiles should be restored, and the *Florentine* captives released; that the *Florentines* should keep the forts they had in the *Lucquese* territories, and that the *Pisans* should pay them annually nine thousand crowns; but that all the friends of the *Pisans*, who had been expelled from *Florence*, should be restored to their country and effects. To qualify those and some other shameful conditions, it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should name the chief magistrate of *Lucca* during the fifteen years; but, as *Arelin* very justly observes, this was in reality next to nothing, as the *Pisans* were in possession of the citadel and the military power. The numbers of captive and other nobility which, by this peace, were restored to *Florence*, strengthened the tyrant's party, as they thought they owed their liberty to him. He then invited into his service all his countrymen who were in *Tuscany*, and out of them he formed a body-guard of about eight hundred horse. After that he entered into a league with the *Pisans*, the real intention of which was to bridle the *Florentines*.

HAVING proceeded thus far, he turned the presidents out of the palace allotted for them, and took possession of it himself. He was too prudent to abolish their council; but he left them only a shadow of its power. He totally abolished the institutions of the companies and their gonfaloniers. He deprived their citizens of their arms, and made himself the sole fountain of preferments and honours in the state. His ava-

* ARELIN. pag. 140.

A. D.
1343.

*A conspiracy
is
formed
against
him.*

rice was insatiable : he appropriated all the public money to his own private use, and cancelled all pecuniary contracts that had been made by the public. The collectors and receivers of his taxes were all of them foreigners. Part of his great wealth he employed in fortifying his palace, so as to render it, to all intents and purposes, a citadel ; and he was so shamefully neglectful of the public faith, that he suffered the hostages, who had been given to *Scaliger*, to be detained for non-payment of the money for which the state was engaged.

It may seem surprising how *Gualtieri* should succeed in this tyrannical proceeding with a people so quick-sighted, and so jealous of their power, as the *Florentines* were ; but he was as artful as he was ambitious, and played off each party in *Florence* against the other, with so much dexterity, that he prevented their uniting in any common plan of opposition. His insolence and cruelty, however, got the better of his prudence. When any of the citizens complained of his officers, he ordered the complainants to be publicly whipped, without so much as enquiring into their grievances. He ordered a citizen's tongue to be pulled out by the roots ; and having banished another upon suspicion, he seemingly pardoned him ; but no sooner was he returned to *Florence* than he put him to death. At last despair and hatred got the better of fear amongst the *Florentines*. The tyrant seldom appeared abroad, and his guards always attended his own person. This gave the *Florentines* of all ranks opportunities of caballing against him ; but the subject of their meeting being discovered to him by means of one *Barneletti*, a *Florentine* nobleman, several of the conspirators were seized, and, by the force of torments, discovered all they knew, before the other conspirators were aware that their plots were revealed. The depth of the conspiracy, and the quality and numbers of those concerned in it were so great, that the tyrant was astonished, and at a loss how to proceed. His first care was to call into *Florence* troops from all the neighbouring garrisons : he then summoned to his palace three hundred of the principal citizens, all or most of whom were conspirators, with a design to strike off their heads, but under the pretence of taking their advice concerning the conspiracy. All those proceedings took up six days, and upon the seventh the citizens, instead of obeying the tyrant's summons, as one man, rose in arms. It then appeared that three several conspiracies had been formed, each without the knowledge of the other ; but all now united against the tyrant, and, with what arms they could command, they besieged him in his palace or citadel. At first he endeavoured to make resistance ;

resistance; but finding them resolute, and that there was not in all *Florence* a family that had not entered into a general conspiracy, he proposed to treat. For this purpose he gave liberty to all whom he had imprisoned on account of the conspiracy, and particularly to *Antonio Adimari*, one of the greatest men in *Florence*, and to the presidents, whom he dismissed with unusual marks of regard, and sent from his palace the popular standards, as pledges of their recovered liberties.

THE head of the conspirators was *Angelo Acciavoli*; and no popular conspiracy was, perhaps, ever so regularly carried on. The citizens laughed at the tyrant's compliances and offers; but, though they had no settled authority to guide them, they met in the great church, where they chose fourteen of their number, the bishop being their principal, for resettling the government of the state. Notwithstanding this, the siege went on with more fury than ever; and the tyrant, finding at last that he must yield, thrust out of the citadel those officers and guards whose cruelty had rendered them most obnoxious to the people, by whom they were instantly put to death. Their punishments somewhat softened the fury of the besiegers; and the bishop, with his assessors, soon brought them into such a temper, that, upon a parley, *Gualtieri* consented to deliver up the citadel into the hands of the fourteen, and to divest himself of all power over *Florence*. It was wisely, at the same time, stipulated by the fourteen, that he should ratify those articles as soon as he quitted the *Florentine* territories. All that he demanded in return was his life, which the fourteen with difficulty preserved, by keeping him for two days within the castle, under a strong guard, and sending him off in the night-time to *Casentino*, where he ratified the articles. His tyranny over *Florence* continued above nine months. It is remarkable that the *Arezzians*, the *Pistoians*, and the *Volterrans*, as if all had acted in concert, received their liberties, and expelled the tyrant's troops at the same time.

Though the *Florentines* had been beyond all example unanimous in expelling their late tyrant, they were far from being so as to the manner of resettling their government. Their city and state were at this time in the utmost confusion; nor could they be said to have any other magistracy than the fourteen they had chosen. To them was referred the care of resettling the government. Upon deliberation they agreed, that the power of the presidents, who had made so glorious a stand against the late tyrant, should be restored: thus far the government was to stand on its

old foundation. Something new, however, was proposed to be introduced, and that the nobility, who had been highly instrumental in expelling the tyrant, should, for that reason, as well as to prevent future dissensions, which had been so fatal to the state, be capacitated to act as presidents, and in other posts of the magistracy. This innovation was likewise agreed to : no measures, however, were taken for restoring the courts of justice, and the institution of companies, it being alledged that such precautions were now rendered useless, by the nobility being consolidated with the commonalty in the government. The number of the city wards was reduced from six to four ; of which the *Transfarnine* ward was one. When the general election of presidents came on, four were chosen from the nobility, and eight from the commonalty ; and they took possession of the palace, and all the badges of authority they had been deprived of by the tyrant. All those regulations took place by the sole authority of the fourteen ; but they were more specious than lasting, and though well meant, they were impracticable.

Civil dissensions.

THE people, seeing four noblemen upon the bench of the presidents, exclaimed against adding to a power that was even too formidable before ; and to tell the truth, says *Aretin*^a, they had some reason. Heats and animosities soon revived in *Florence*, where it was publicly said, that by driving out one tyrant they had admitted hundreds. The bishop saw, that civil commotions were upon the point of again breaking out. Though he himself was of one of the noblest families in *Florence*, he advised the fourteen to submit the modelling of the state to an assembly of the people, as being the only means of retaining somewhat, whereas by an obstinate perseverance they might forfeit all. This moderate counsel was rejected with great acrimony, and some marks of contempt for its author, whom they put in mind how scandalously the plebeians had supported the late tyrant. The prelate, who was a man of resolution, retorted on the nobility their conduct on the same occasion ; and words grew so high, that they reached the ears of the people without doors, already ripe for an insurrection. In an instant they were in arms, broke into the palace, pulled the nobility from the bench of the presidents, and ordered them to return home in a private station. This attack was what the nobles had so little foreseen, that they could that night come to no general resolution. Next day, the people resolved to lose no time, and attacked, one by one, all the houses of the nobility, situated

^a Ibid. pag. 143.

in the *Cisarnine Florence*, which they easily reduced, but without offering any violence to their persons. The nobility being more powerful in the *Trisarnine Florence*, the people found more resistance there; at last they prevailed, and, though they had plundered and destroyed a few palaces where they had met with the greatest opposition, yet they treated the nobles and their families with becoming respect, declaring that they fought from motives neither of hatred nor revenge, but of love to their country, the constitution of which was dearer to them than themselves.

THE people's conquest over the nobility was glorious, chiefly through the moderation with which they proceeded. Their first care was to restore the ancient forms of their constitution, with some immaterial variations; and the chiefs in their government were bestowed on such plebeians as affected the smallest pomp, and possessed the least power.

EVER since they had had the dominion of *Arezzo*, they had been embroiled on its account, as *Sacco*, its former master, was still powerful enough to maintain his pretensions. The *Florentines*, therefore, with equal wisdom and magnanimity, came to a resolution of restoring to *Arezzo* its independency. For this purpose a solemn deputation was sent from *Florence*, to compliment the *Arezzians* upon having so nobly recovered their liberty, and to present them with a public instrument, by which the *Florentine* people resigned for ever all title to any right of dominion over that city. The deputies executed their commission in the most solemn manner, and the present was received by the *Arezzians* with the utmost raptures of joy and gratitude. Soon after a confederacy was formed between the *Perugians*, the *Siennese*, the *Arezzians*, and the *Florentines*, who were placed at the head of it.

THE *Florentines*, on farther consultation, considered themselves as being still in a state of war with the *Pisans*, because they did not think themselves bound by the peace the tyrant *Pisa* had made. As the *Pisans*, however, had concluded it upon the principles of good faith, the *Florentines* consented to renew it with very few alterations. All those and other less important transactions happened the same year the tyrant was expelled.

NEXT year the *Florentines* passed some very severe laws against their nobility, particularly, that such of them as were in foreign services should, on being summoned, repair to *Florence*, on pain of forfeiting all their estates and effects. The motive of this law obviously was, lest those noblemen should acquire such power and interest abroad, as might enable them to disturb the peace of the state at home. About

The nobility expelled from the magistracy.

Arezzo to its independency,

and make peace with

A. D. 1374. Securities against the nobility.

the same time another severe fact passed against them : for a prosecution was ordered against the governors of all forts and castles belonging to *Florence*, most of whom were nobles who had been appointed by the tyrant. History is silent as to the penalty inflicted upon them ; but we are told that several, especially noblemen, were condemned on that account.

Gualtieri
solicits the
court of
France.

IN the mean while, the expelled tyrant was soliciting his cause at the court of *France*, where he represented the *Florentines*, and the treatment he had received, in the most odious colours, insisting upon being indemnified for all his losses out of the estates of the *Florentines* who were settled in that kingdom. His complaints were so well received, that the latter sent advices of their danger to the magistracy of *Florence*, in the most affecting terms. This had no other effect on the *Florentines*, than to make them pass what we may call an act of attainder against the tyrant, and to publish a reward for any one who should bring in his head : at the same time he was publicly executed in effigy, with the utmost marks of infamy and detestation. ^{by the} proceedings, however, did not prevent the *Florentines* from sending an ambassador to vindicate their conduct at the court of *France*. Soon after his departure ambassadors came from the king of *France*, demanding restitution of what had been taken from the tyrant, to the amount of a prodigious sum. The *Florentines* received and treated them with all the respect due to their master ; but exposed the cruelty, avarice, ambition, and oppressions of the tyrant with such strength of eloquence and evidence, that the ambassadors had nothing to reply. They then shewed them his act of abdication, which he had ratified at a place where he could be under no apprehensions of danger. After their audience, the ambassadors were treated in the most elegant sumptuous manner.

Original of
papi. cre-
dit. . .

THIS year the *Florentine* government surmounted a difficulty which in that age would, perhaps, have been unsurmountable by any other people. The state had borrowed from its subjects a large sum of money, amounting, to the best of our calculation, to about sixty thousand pounds sterling. The low state of the public finances, at this time, did not admit of the government paying off the debt, yet the public credit must be supported. As a middle way, every creditor had assignments made to him, on the public revenue, at the rate of five per cent. the money itself being heaped up in the for of a mount or bank (both which terms are still in use). Those assignments were transferable like our stocks, and negotiated in the same manner, their value rising or falling according to the prosperity or distresses of the state. According

to *Arctin*^a (E), from whom we have this curious account, the *Florentine* stock was negotiated in the same manner as bargains are for any other mercantile commodity. Here we, perhaps, have the first rise of paper credit. We have in the note given *Arctin*'s words, which, to those not acquainted with mercantile affairs, are not quite clear.

IN the beginning of the following year, the *Florentine* people seem to have been so much intoxicated with their prosperous situation, that they forgot their usual moderation. Their historians exclaim against one law they then passed as being unjust, and against another as being ungrateful. By the former the clergy was abridged in all their privileges. The latter was a kind of an act of resumption, which cancelled all grants that had been made by the public to citizens for their past services, by which many were obliged to return great part of their estates, to the ruin of their families.

A. D.
1345.

THE same year is noted for an event not much to the honour of *England*. The *Florentine* family of the *Bardi* were bankrupts, then the greatest bankers in *Europe*, and had partnerships in most trading nations. They had lent *Edward III.* king of *England*, about seven hundred thousand crowns of gold, to assist him in his *French* wars; and his majesty not being punctual in his remittances, the *Bardi* became insolvent. As they were in such high credit; that there was scarce a family in *Florence* that had not money in their hands, the calamity was general, and occasioned such distrusts between man and man, as amounted to a stagnation of public credit. It appeared, however, upon inspecting the bankrupts accounts, that the company owed about two hundred thousand crowns less than the king owed them.

To add to the misfortunes of the *Florentines*, they understood that *Philip*, then king of *France*, had so far taken part

^a Ibid. pag. 146.

(E) *Nominibus eorum. quibus debebatur, tributum descriptis annui redditus e publico constituti sunt, quina singulis centenis. Quantitates vero ipsas in unum coacervatas, a similitudine cumulandi, vulgo Montem vocavere; idque in civitate postea servatum. Quoties res publica indiget, civis tributa persolvunt: solutorum vero percipiunt. Hi percipiunt annuas percipiunt. Hi cumulationesque pecuniarum bellis quidem crescunt: pace minuuntur, propterea quod, abundante republica, dissolutio fit crebra atque peremptio. Quantitatum vero descriptarum et venditio est civibus inter se et permutatio, atque (ut in cæteris mercimoniis) pro tempore, pro spe, pro commodo, mixtuitur earum precium atque augescit. In emtorem cadenti commoda, quæ solutus ipse perpetuus erat, transmittuntur.*

with their late tyrant, that he had ordered all *Florentines* and their goods to be seized, who should be found sixty days, after the date of the order, within his kingdom. He was induced, no doubt, to this severity by the vast support the *Florentines* had given to his enemy and rival the king of *England*.

A. D. 1346. *A famine.* NEXT year a general famine prevailed all over *Italy*, and the *Florentines* were obliged to buy up vast stocks of grain in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, which were imported into *Florence*. Their humanity on this occasion was as signal as their providence; for they gave bread to incredible numbers of women, children, and poor people, who flocked to their city from the country and the neighbouring states, who had not been so provident. Their compassion for the poor extended still farther; for they limited the cases and forms of arresting a poor debtor. All their precautions, however, could not hinder a pestilential disease from breaking out in the city, which is generally the consequence of famine, and of a place overstocked with numbers of strangers.

Charles of Luxem-
burg
chosen em-
peror. DURING this year the *Florentines* received a fresh mortification, by their hereditary enemy *Charles of Luxemburg*, son to *John* king of *Bohemia*, and grandson to the emperor *Henry*, being raised to the imperial dignity. This elevation, however, had no immediate ill consequence to the *Florentines*, who about this time acquired the sovereignty of the town of *St. Miniato*, which was delivered to them through the irreconcilable dissensions that reigned in the place. Famine and pestilence still prevailed all over *Italy*, in the *Florentine* territories especially, which were this year visited by a new guest, *Lewis*, grandson to *Robert* king of *Naples*, their ancient friend and protector. It is not our intention to enter here into a description of this prince and his family's fortunes, which may be found in other parts of this work. The *Florentines* resolved not to intermeddle in the dispute between him and the king of *Hungary*, who had driven him out of *Naples*, and forbade his entering into their city. This year it is said, that no fewer than sixty thousand *Florentines* died; many of whom being men of the first rank in the state, there was for some time an almost total cessation of public business. All that the *Florentines* could do, was to repress the incursions of some robbers, who came from the *Appennines* to make their advantage of the public distresses. Next year passed in almost the same inactivity, only the people of *Colle* and *Gambiani* submitted to the *Florentines*, their former masters, being impelled thereto by their domestic dissensions. Some strong places belonging to the *Ubaldi*, which sheltered robbers upon the *Appennines*, were likewise taken.

A. D.
1350.

THE year 1350 produced great events in *Florence*. *Giovanni Visconti* was then bishop and master of *Milan*, and the most powerful prince then in *Lombardy*, having added *Bologna* to his other dominions. The *Florentines*, alarmed by the neighbourhood of so powerful and arbitrary a prince, consulted how to oppose him if he should attempt to extend his territories, and for that purpose planned an alliance with *Scaliger*, and the other *Tuscan* states, who were equally jealous of his power, and, amongst others, the pope himself. A general meeting of deputies from all the confederates was held at *Arezzo*, where the pope's legate likewise assisted; but, *Scaliger's* death and many difficulties intervening, the negotiations came to nothing. *Visconti*, to avail himself of a juncture so favourable to his ambition, detached *Scaliger's* son and successor from the confederacy, as he did several others who had been invited into it, and made them his friends. All this while he affected to keep a good correspondence with *Florence*; and, that he might disguise his true designs, he sent his general *Barnabo* to besiege *Imola*, a strong city in the *Romagna*, his army then lying at *Bologna*. Amongst his troops were many of the *Bolognese*, and others, who were over-awed or suspected by him, particularly the inhabitants of *Faenza* and *Friuli*, whom he obliged to serve in his army, lest they might excite commotions against him in his absence. The troops, however, he chiefly depended upon were three thousand horse and four thousand foot, chiefly mercenaries, headed by *Barnabo*. The garrison of *Imola* made a vigorous defence, so that he was obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade. While this lasted the *Florentines* had intelligence that the *Pisans* were about to declare for *Visconti*, and that he was concerting measures for making himself master of *Pistoia* and *Prato*. The last is a small city, but in those days well fortified, and of all others of the greatest importance to the *Florentines*, because of its neighbourhood to *Florence*. They knew that the inhabitants were torn into factions, which was the great encouragement *Visconti* had; and they resolved, if possible, to be before-hand with him. After a short consultation, a large body of troops were instantly in arms, and they marched to *Prato* with the greatest speed but regularity, and pitched their tents before the town, without offering the smallest hostility. The *Prato* were equally surprised by their friendly, as they had been by their hostile appearance; and the *Florentines* reasoned with them so mildly, but effectually, that, opening their gates, they received them as their protectors.

Visconti's
artifice.

The Flo-
rentines
secure
Prato,

and Pistoia,

THIS important and unexpected success determined the *Florentines* next to attempt *Pistoia*, a city of much greater power and strength, likewise in the neighbourhood of *Florence*. A sedition that had lately happened there, gave the *Florentines* a pretext for offering its magistrates a body of troops for preserving the peace of their city. The offer was accepted of; but a very few of the *Florentines* were introduced into *Pistoia*, and these were bound by an oath of fidelity to the magistracy. Their numbers were one hundred horse, and one hundred and fifty foot. The *Florentines*, despairing thereby to gain their ends, resolved, if they could, to surprise their countrymen by a masterly exploit. They privately sent for the exiles, who had been driven from *Pistoia* in the late insurrection; and it was agreed, that they should surprise that city in the night-time by a scalade; and that one *Peter*, who was a commissary of the *Florentine* army, should be sent before to dispose the *Florentines* there to favour the attempt. *Peter* never discharged this commission. The exiles, however, thinking themselves sure of the *Florentines* within, performed their part with the utmost intrepidity; but after the greatest part of them had got over the wall, the *Pistoians* took the alarm, and a fierce encounter ensued, which was manfully sustained by the exiles, in a sure confidence of their being joined by the *Florentine* part of the garrison. The latter, however, knowing nothing of the conspiracy, fought as bravely against them as the *Pistoians* did; and, at last, the exiles were obliged to retreat by the same way they came in. The *Pistoians*, at first, imagined the attempt to be the act of their own exiles; but coming to the truth, by examining their prisoners, they became doubly intent upon guarding their city and liberty: but, though they were exasperated to the highest degree, they gave an honourable dismissal to the *Florentine* part of their garrison, on account of their fidelity and courage.

after some
failure of
success.

It was perhaps this failure of success, chiefly, that opened the mouths of the *Florentines* against their presidents, as if they had by their treachery rendered the *Pistoians*, a people remarkably brave and resolute, their enemies; and had, as it were, driven them into the arms of *Visconti*. The wiser amongst the *Florentines*, however, reflecting that there was now no hopes of gaining over the *Pistoians* by fair means, counselled the people to lay aside all animosities, and to attempt to gain their point by force. This counsel was approved of, and in three days time *Pistoia* was besieged by fifteen thousand *Florentines*; a prodigious number, when we consider the havoc of the late pestilence. The *Pistoians* prepared to make a brave defence; but the *Florentines* shewed such reluctance

tance at hostilities, that daily conferences passed between the besiegers and the besieged. At last all difficulties were got over, by means of the friends the *Florentines* had in *Pistoia*, and the *Pistoians* unanimously received a *Florentine* garrison.

BEFORE this event, *Visconti* and his chief officers had always mentioned the *Florentines* in terms of great respect and friendship; but he now summoned together his friends all over *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*. He acquainted them, that he had discovered a conspiracy that had been formed by some *Bolognese* lords, for betraying that city to the *Florentines*, whom he inveighed against with great bitterness. He then made a kind of a deduction of all that their several counties had suffered from the *Florentines*, and told them, that their only way to have reparation and revenge was for every state to exert itself all at once to fall upon them, and that he himself would lead them the way. His speech was received with vast applause, a great army was assembled, and the command of it given by him to *Olegiano*, one of his relations. His expedition was so great, that he passed the *Appennines*, and encamped near *Pistoia*, before his march from *Bologna* was heard of. All that the *Florentines*, under their great astonishment, could do, was to throw a strong reinforcement of horse and foot into the city, and to send a deputation to expostulate with *Olegiano*. His answer was, that he was come, by order of the bishop of *Milan*, to obtain satisfaction for the losses and outrages his friends and allies had received from the *Florentine* people; and that they must either take him for their arbiter, or expect the consequences. The deputies upon this left the camp, and he made dispositions for besieging *Pistoia*. His real intention, however, was to excite a revolt within the city in his favour; but being disappointed of that hope, and finding the garrison prepared for a vigorous resistance, he broke up the siege, and marched directly through the *Prato* towards *Florence*. His army, according to *Aretin*, consisted of above ten thousand horse and six thousand foot, besides a great number of auxiliary troops and volunteers. It soon appeared, that *Olegiano*, as he had done at *Pistoia*, depended more upon the *Florentine* dissensions than upon his own army, for the reduction of the city. All he did was taking a few considerable places, and ravaging the open country; for after his troops had paraded for some time before *Florence*, he drew them off towards the vale of *Mugelli*. Upon this the *Florentines* threw a reinforcement into *Scarperia*, a garrisoned place they had there, and a town now famous for its cutlery was. Tho'

which he-
sieves Pis-
toia, and
marches
against
Florence
in vain.

this place was not fortified round, yet the inhabitants and the garrison baffled all the attempts of their enemies, and made an incredible defence.

Continuation of the war.

THIS unsuccessful expedition of *Visconti* against the *Florentines* occasioned commotions all over *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*. *Saco* made an irruption upon the towns of the *Upper Arno*, and attempted to take *Varico*. He was opposed by the people of those parts, and by three hundred *Florentine* horse, with some *Arezzians*, under the command of *Ricasolani*, who immediately prepared to fight *Saco*. The latter stood upon the defensive; and *Ricasolani*, knowing his troops were but raw, forbore to attack him, so that *Saco* in the night drew off his army. *Ricasolani*, after this, though the *Arezzians* had left him, took *Aynani*. *Visconti*, all this while, was not idle: he sent an ambassador to persuade the *Pisans* to break off their league with the *Florentines*, in which case he promised to assist them with a strong body of troops under *Barnabo*. The *Gambacurti* were then the most powerful family in *Pisa*, friends to the *Florentines*, and no strangers to *Visconti*'s ambition. By their advice and influence, his ambassadors were dismissed, without any other reply, than that the *Pisans* would send their answer by deputies of their own. *Visconti* finding he was trifled with, sent other ambassadors to *Pisa* with more splendid retinues, and with instructions to address the people in a general assembly. Their discourse was artful, and adapted to the innate hatred the lower ranks of *Pisa* had against the *Florentines*. But *Francesino Gambacurti*, the head of that family, in a very fine speech, shewed that the ruin of *Florence* would be but a prelude to that of *Pisa*. When he finished, the question was put, and it was unanimously carried, that the peace with *Florence* should be inviolably preserved on the part of *Pisa*.

Visconti baffled at Pisa.

The Florentines augment their army,

THE *Florentines*, perceiving the practices of *Visconti*, increased their domestic forces; and took into their pay two thousand five hundred *German* horse, who were joined by two hundred *Siennese*, and six hundred *Perugian* cavalry was hourly expected. The garrison of *Scarperia* still continued to hold bravely out, and the *Florentines* had resolved to employ all their power to raise the siege, when *Saco* defeated the *Perugians*, as they were marching to join their allies. The *Arezzians*, therefore, were obliged to detach themselves from the main army, and to return home, that they might baffle any attempts that might be made against them. This defeat obliged the *Florentines* to alter their measures, and damped the *Scarperians*, who were now reduced to the greatest distress. *Vicedomini*, a *Florentine* nobleman of great spirit, to
set

set a generous example to his countrymen, broke through the besiegers camp in the night-time, and entered *Scarperia* with thirty horse. This was but a feeble reinforcement; and *Medici*, a *Florentine* of great courage, taking advantage of a stormy night, entered the enemy's camp, where it was weakest, with one hundred horse, and, with the loss of twenty, he carried the rest safe into the town. Those reinforcements, though but inconsiderable, gave such spirit to the besieged, and raise the siege of *Scarperia*: that they baffled the most vigorous attempts of their enemies with unparalleled courage and perseverance; so that the besiegers were at last obliged to repass the *Appennines*, and return to the *Bolognese*.

THE *Florentines* made noble acknowledgments for the *their* generous services performed them on this occasion. They doubled the *rosity*. pay of every common soldier of the garrison; they freed the townsmen from the payment of all taxes for ten years; they presented *John* and his brother *Silvester Medici*, who were honoured with knighthood, with five hundred crowns of gold each, to be expended on their arms and equipages, and one hundred and fifty for their table: but some noblemen, who had likewise signalized themselves, particularly the *Donati*, the *Ruffi*, and the *Vicedomini*, were misrepresented to the people.

ABOUT this time the family of the *Brandali*, then the most powerful in *Arezzo*, entered into a correspondence with *Visconti*, and some other of their discontented countrymen, for seizing that city. One of the conspirators happened to be appointed to the custody of a tower, that commanded a gate leading into the country, which gave their fellow conspirators an assurance of success that they could not dissemble. As the magistrates were examining those they suspected, *Visconti's* *Arezzo* troops appeared before the gate, and the conspirators stood to *preserved*. their arms within the city. The *Arezzians*, however, attacked their foreign enemies, who were in number six hundred foot and three hundred horse, so resolutely, that they obliged them to retreat, and give over their attempt. The tower and the houses of the conspirators continued, nevertheless, to make a resolute defence; and, after three days assault, it was agreed, that the conspirators should depart safe out of *Arezzo*. *Saco*, however, about the same time, succeeded in surprising *Burgo*, a town of some consequence belonging to the *Perugians*; and the town of *Anglari*, belonging to them, surrendered to him likewise.

IT now drew towards winter, and it was agreed amongst the confederate states of *Tuscany*, who were the *Florentines*, can *confer* the *Arezzians*, the *Perugians*, and the *Siennese*, that they *deracy* should *newed*.

should make the most vigorous preparations for continuing the war next year. The *Florentine* magistrates, on this occasion, are severely reprehended by their historian^c, for dismissing their native troops, and taking a body of foreigners into their pay. The confederates sent deputies to *Avignon*, where the pope then resided, to invite him into the confederacy against *Visconti*; but they returned fraught with promises, and nothing else. During those transactions, *Scarperia*, which had been so bravely defended, was surprised by a party of *Visconti*'s troops, who had been encouraged to the attempt by the dissensions subsisting between the townsmen and the garrison; but the latter, forgetting all animosities, soon recovered the place, and drove the enemy out. During the same winter, *Saco*, having ravaged the *Perugian* territories, obliged, or engaged, the people of *Cortona* to declare for *Visconti*.

Negotiations with the emperor,

It was now known at *Florence*, that the pope and the *French* court had been prevailed upon, by *Visconti*, not to intermeddle in the affairs of *Tuscany*; so that the confederates were obliged to throw their eyes for assistance towards a power, whom they had some time before considered as their capital enemy: this was the emperor *Charles IV.* He had no reason to be well satisfied with the *Visconti* family; and upon the confederates secretly applying to him, he agreed to send a private agent to *Florence*, to concert measures for their relief. About this time the *Florentines* besieged, but in vain, the fort of *Vertina*, a castle held by some exiles, chiefly of the *Ricasolani* family; and *Ruffo*, the *Florentine* governor of the valley of *Mugelli*, failed in an attempt to relieve the castle of *Lozola*, besieged by the *Ubalдини*: for this he was dismissed from his command, which was given to another, who relieved the place, and beat the enemy.

and the pope, who outwits the confederates,

THE *Florentine* deputies now renewed their solicitations at *Avignon*, as their last effort with the pope, who, far from complying, prevailed upon them to agree to his mediating a peace between *Visconti* and the emperor; and the former being excommunicated, his holiness took off from him all the ecclesiastical censures, and even remitted to him the possession of *Bologna* for twelve months; and all this in consideration of a vast sum of money paid him by *Visconti*. This done, all further talk of a peace vanished; by which the *Florentines* plainly saw that they had been deceived and overreached by his holiness. As they themselves had been partly accessory to their own disappointment, they were almost ashamed to complain; but they rejected a truce for a year,

proposed by the pope, between them and *Visconti*. The confederates then renewed their applications to *Charles*; and, after various negotiations, it was agreed, that he should march to their assistance with an army against *Visconti*, upon their paying him a subsidy, and acknowledging him to be the head of the *Roman* empire. The exiles in the castle of *Vertina*, who had before baffled the attempts of the *Florentines*, were now obliged to surrender upon a capitulation, and the place was levelled to the ground. During the summer of this year the *Florentines* prosecuted the war against *Saco*, whose estates they ravaged, and then defeated him in a pitched battle.

To counterbalance those advantages, the allies of *Visconti* took some places in the *Perugian* territories; but the *Perugians* receiving a seasonable reinforcement of eight hundred horse from *Florence*, completely defeated their enemies, and retook the places. The *Arezzians* were not so successful: they distrusted all assistance offered them by the *Florentines*, and their territories were plundered by their enemies, especially by *Sacco*. A great number of other flying actions happened the same year, of little importance, and endless to recount.

DURING those transactions, the reputation of the *Florentine* government gained ground. *Visconti* saw he had been misinformed; and that the riches brought them by foreign commerce were inexhaustible, and would always enable them to maintain powerful armies in the field. Add to all this, he was now infirm in his health, and had lost all hopes of gaining the *Pisans*: he therefore applied to *Francesco Gambacurti*, his former opposer at *Pisa*, to mediate a peace between him and the confederates. That nobleman readily undertook the office, and the *Florentines* as readily embraced the proposal.

Deputies from all parts met at *Serezana*; and, after great altercation, it was agreed, that a peace should be concluded between the *Florentines* and their confederates, on the one part; and the bishop of *Milan*, his adherents, and dependents, on the other; that the bishop should withdraw all his troops and garrisons from *Tuscany*, and never after make war upon any of the *Tuscan* states; that he should restore all he had taken from the *Pisians*, and leave *Burgo* to its ancient freedom. If the *Florentines* should attack the *Pisans* or the *Lucchese*, the prelate might send them assistance; and the *Florentines* had the same liberty, if either of those states should be attacked by the prelate. All the *Florentine* and *Perugian* exiles, on account of the late war, were to be restored; but no other, unless expressly named in the treaty. *Saco* and his family were to be restored to all their possessions in the *Arezzian* territory;

but

but none of them were to come nearer than the distance of four miles to that city^d. Such were the general terms of this treaty, which contained a great many other articles and precautions, with regard to the exiles. According to *Manetti* ^e, the terms of this peace were inviolably kept on both sides, till the time of *Visconti's* death, which happened a few years after.

Falſe muſ- So honourable a peace gave the *Florentines* now ſome re-
ters puniſh- ſpite to look into their domeſtic concerns. Their firſt inquiry
ed. was into the ſtate of their army, where they found the moſt ſcandalous abuſes had been committed by their commiſſaries, and others, who had made falſe muſters. Some of the delinquents were brought to condign puniſhment; and the *Florentines* honourably diſcharged all mercenaries from their ſervice, and intirely betook themſelves to the arts of peace, which they were allowed to cultivate only for a few months.

Original of THE diſcharge of the foreign mercenaries, though a mea-
the Flo- ſure wife and equitable in itſelf, brought great troubles upon
rentine all the *Tuſcan* ſtates. Moſt of the mercenaries, finding now
war with no employment in *Italy*, and conſiſting of outlaws from *Ger-*
the Ger- many, *France*, and other nations, united themſelves under the
man ban- command of one *Moriali*, a *Frenchman*, or a *Lombard*, (ſo
ditti. the *Tuſcan* hiſtorians uſe the ſame name for both) and reſolved to lay all *Italy* under contribution. They were ſoon joined by many *Italians*, and their numbers amounted to above eight thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot, all of them regular veteran troops, beſides an immense number of ſervants and attendants upon their camp. They ſet out upon the principle of rapine; but each ſtate was at liberty to redeem itſelf from their ravages, upon paying the contributions at which they were taxed. After ravaging ſome parts of *Italy*, they paſſed the *Appennines*, and invaded the territory of *Perugia*, which was obliged to pay them the contributions they demanded. The *Florentines* in vain endeavoured to form a confederacy againſt them; for the banditti, as they were called, came within eight miles of *Florence*; and the *Florentines*, as well as the *Sieneſe*, were obliged to ſatisfy their lawleſs demands. They met with the ſame ſucceſs at *Arezzo*, and at *Citta di Caſtello*, where they divided their plunder; and about the beginning of *October* they went into winter-quarters, wherever they could make them good.

Conduct of ABOUT this time the *Genoeſe*, who had for ſome time
the emperor maintained an unequal war with the *Venetians*, and other
Charles.

^d *ARET.* p. 162.

^e *MANETTI* ubi ſupra, pag. 1065.

enemies, submitted themselves to the protection of *Visconti*, and put him in possession of their city. Upon this the *Venetians*, the *Paduans*, the *Veronese*, and the *Ferrarese*, with all *Visconti's* ancient enemies, applied to the emperor *Charles*, who at their request entered *Italy*; but stopt at *Padua*, till he should see what turn affairs should take. In this critical conjuncture *Visconti* died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his brother's children. Their unanimity was so great, that *Charles*, despairing of any revolution in his favour, brought about a truce between the *Milanese* and their enemies; and, after remaining some days at *Milan*, he marched to *Pisa*, and was admitted into that city. While he remained there, the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and *Arezzians*, sent him a joint deputation; but it soon appeared that the *Siennese* had separate views, and intended to put themselves under the emperor's protection. The people of *Volterra* and *Miniato*, without the knowledge of their allies the *Florentines*, surrendered themselves and their territories to *Charles*, and at last it was found, that the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians* were the only states who remained firm in the principles of their confederacy. On the other hand, *Saco* and *Fagiolani* complained to the emperor of the hardship of the terms imposed upon them by the treaty of *Serazana*; but *Charles*, whose great aim was to get money, gave no satisfaction to either party, though he seemed rather to incline to the cause of the *Arezzians*. The *Florentines* applied to him with better success; and, by the assistance of a round sum of money, obtained all they requested. From *Pisa*, *Charles* marched to *Volterra*, and from thence to *Miniato*, and was received in both places. From thence he went to *Sienna*, where he was likewise received, but not without opposition. The *Florentines* at this time were, of all the *Italian* states, his favourites, for having, by a prudent compliance, furnished him with money, which carried him to *Rome*, where, with his empress, he was solemnly crowned.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1355, *Charles* set out from *Rome* for *Germany*, and, passing through *Tuscany*, he indulged the *Florentines* and their allies in all their demands; for which he is blamed by the *German* historians, as having bartered all the imperial demesnes in *Italy* for money. This year the *Florentines* fortified *Cassiano*, which had proved a retreat for the banditti, who, during the emperor's abode in *Italy*, seemed to have been pretty quiet. About this time *Saco*, formerly lord of *Arezzo*, died, aged above eighty years, which he, almost without interruption, spent in the field. The day of his death was celebrated by the *Florentines* as that

of their deliverance. The terrors of the banditti were again renewed, and the *Florentines* fortified some other places against them. But other dangers threatened the state. The emperor, in all his proceedings, had declared himself a *Guelph*; and that faction at *Florence* had power enough to carry an act against any *Gibelin*, or the descendant of one, holding any place of trust or profit in the state. This renewed all the public distractions there, and fresh acts passed to strengthen the power of the plebeians.

The Flo-
rentine
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moved to
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monc.

ABOUT this time the *Florentines*, whose trade was now arrived at a prodigious height, finding that the *Pisans* wanted to extort unreasonably for the liberty of landing goods in their ports, ordered their merchants to land them at *Telamone*, now a small fortified town in the *Stato de gli Presidii*. The *Pisans*, perceiving that they were deprived of that valuable intercourse, gave frequent interruptions to the *Florentine* traders, who were obliged to carry their commodities by a long land-carriage to *Florence*. But the *Florentines*, with a spirit becoming a free people, resolved not to be braved by the *Pisans*, even at sea; and hired of the *Provençals* fifteen ships of war, with which they not only protected their own trade, but carried terror to *Pisa* itself.

Progress of
the bandit-
ti,

THE terror of the *German* banditti still hung over the heads of the *Florentines*. They now again appeared in the kingdom of *Naples*: from thence they proceeded to *Lombardy*; and, after ravaging the *Milanese*, they marched to the *Bolognese*, from whence they endeavoured to penetrate into the *Florentine* territories; but the *Florentines* had taken care to fortify the passes of the *Appennines* so well, that they found it impracticable to proceed. Upon this they promised to retire towards their own country, without scarcely touching on the *Florentine* grounds, by the *Casantin*. The *Florentines* either could not, or would not, oppose this proposal; but, after they had entered upon the mountains, the country people, who had suffered so greatly by their depredations, fell upon the second division of them so furiously, with stones from the tops of the rocks, which every way surrounded them, that most of them were killed, without being able to make the smallest resistance; and all their booty fell into the hands of their conquerors, many of whom were women, who shared equally with the men in their spoils. As to the first division of the robbers, they reached *Decumane*, a small village belonging to the *Florentines*, carrying along with them the *Florentine* deputies, who had agreed to their march, and whom they threatened with destruction, as soon as they heard of the total discomfiture of their companions. Nothing could have saved them,

part of
whom are
destroyed.

them, had not the robbers been here surrounded in the same manner as their companions had been by the country people, equally intent upon revenge and plunder. The deputies interposed, and by saving the robbers from their rage, they saved themselves, though with great difficulty, and without being thanked by either party. The country people were exasperated at being disappointed of their prey, and the banditti upbraided the *Florentines* with breach of faith.

ABOUT this time the *Florentines* effected an accommodation between the *Perugians* and the *Siennese*, and obliged both parties to stand to their award. The overthrow of one part of the banditti served but to inspire the other with thoughts of vengeance; and their rage was increased by *Conrad Lyndo*, their general, a German soldier of fortune. He had been taken prisoner, and stripped of his all, when their second division was destroyed; but, finding means to escape, he now rejoined his followers. The late peace between the *Siennese* and the *Perugians*, added three thousand German horse, who were then dismissed, to the banditti. By this junction they were so formidable, that they resolved no longer to hazard themselves in mountainous matches, but to force their way through the champaign country into *Tuscany*, which they proposed to invade by the way of *Perugia*, to save them the danger of passing the *Appennines*. The vast circuit which this obliged them to take was of little inconvenience to men who lived by plunder, and who were marching through the finest countries in *Europe*. They met with no interruption on their march, and before they arrived at *Perugia*, the inhabitants sent deputies, who paid them a sum of money for the indemnification of their city; and their example was followed by the *Siennese* and the *Pisans*. Thus the fairest and most populous provinces in *Italy* were laid under contribution by a set of lawless ruffians, whose progress increased their numbers, as their barbarity did the horror in which they were held. Wherever they met with the least resistance, ruin to the inhabitants was the certain consequence: they demolished towns, desolated countries, slaughtered people, and nothing but money could buy off their ravages.

It was upon this occasion that the wisdom and magnanimity of the *Florentines* shone out with a lustre equal to that of the greatest states of antiquity. Instead of being intimidated by the example of their neighbours, or the numbers of the banditti, they considered them as monsters, whose progress and crimes, far from being any inducements to submit to them, were the strongest motives for destroying them. After the banditti had carried all before them, they collected together all their force, and declared that *Florence* was the only

object they had in their eye when they undertook their long march, and that she was to expect no favour. The most respectable citizens of the *Florentine* allies came to *Florence*, to persuade the people and magistrates that they had no way to avoid certain destruction, but to send deputies to treat with the ruffians; and that they might buy their peace cheaper than their quarters for a single day in their territories would cost their state. Those and many other specious arguments were disdained by the *Florentines*, who continued their warlike preparations, and chose *Pandolfo Malatesta* for their general. Instead of waiting within their walls, *Malatesta* led his troops to the field against the banditti, and arrived at the *Pesa* just at the time when they had begun to march from *Sienna* towards *Florence* with their full force. But when, contrary to their expectations, they understood that the *Florentines* had even imposed silence upon all advocates for an accommodation with them, and were waiting for them in order of battle, they were startled; and, after loitering for some time in the *Siennese*, they turned off towards the *Volterrani*, from thence to proceed to *Pisa*. The *Florentine* army followed them; and passing the *Alfa* at *St. Miniato*, they again offered battle to the banditti, who declined it, and marched off towards the *Lucchese*. They were pursued by the *Florentines*; and now it appeared, that no true courage can animate a lawless set of men; for the banditti still continued retreating.

Admired
by all Italy. THE attention of all *Italy* had for some time been employed upon the firm conduct of the *Florentines*, and it now became their admiration. The most distant states interested themselves in the fate and support of so much magnanimity, and wanted to share in the glory. The king of *Sicily*, *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, the *Paduans*, and the *Ferrarese*, sent troops to serve in the *Florentine* army. Those of *Barnabo* were headed by his son *Ambrosini*. The *Arezzians* sent them two hundred horse, and as many foot, all of them picked troops; and fifty of the greatest *Neapolitan* nobility served as volunteers in the campaign. The *Germans*, at last, drew up upon a high ground, where they thought it was impracticable for the *Florentines* to assault them; but while dispositions for attacking them next day were making, the banditti set fire to their camp in their night, and drew off with vast precipitation towards *Lucca*, from whence they fled into the *Genoese* territories in their march towards the duchy of *Monferrat*.

Reflection. THUS ended, to the immortal honour of *Florence*, a danger that threatened great calamity to her state. It is probable, that had the banditti prevailed against *Florence*, a new kingdom, such as that of the *Lombards*, would have been erected

in Italy; and nothing but their want of a proper head, and some other colour to their cause than that of mere robbery, could have prevented their success. All Europe was then full of soldiers of fortune, who, in time of peace, had no means of subsisting but by rapine and plunder, as we shall soon have an opportunity of shewing more at large.

THE Florentine general and his army, upon their return from the campaign, made a triumphal entry into Florence, *where* handsome presents were bestowed upon all the auxiliary troops; and never did the Florentine name appear with greater lustre, nor their state with more authority, than they did on that occasion. Perhaps their general was a little too delicate, in point of form, when he refused to pursue the banditti into the Lucchese, for fear of violating the peace with the Pisans, who then held Lucca. Soon after the army's return to Florence, intelligence came that the banditti had made their appearance near Pavia, then belonging to Barnabo. Upon this the Florentines immediately ordered a detachment of one thousand horse to Barnabo's assistance.

BUT the banditti-war was not the only war this year carried on by the Florentines. The Ubertini and Tarlati continued still to be leading families in the Arezzian state; and the chief of the Ubertini had served the Florentines against the banditti, and had lost his son in the campaign. His ingratitude to his family so much with the Florentines, that they gave the youth a most magnificent public burial, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on his surviving brother. Great animosities subsisting between the two families, the Ubertini persuaded the Florentines to declare war against Bibiena, then a strong place in the Casentine, held by the Tarlati, but now an open market-town. The siege continued for two months; but the place was at last taken, and delivered up to the Florentines. Its reduction was followed by the surrender of the neighbouring forts held by the Tarlati, (of whom Saco, whose memory was so obnoxious to the Florentines, had been the head) which were given to the Arezzians, and his two sons carried prisoners to Florence.

NEXT year, differences broke out between Barnabo and Olegiano, Visconti's nephews and successors; and Olegiano found himself obliged to make a surrender of Bologna to the pope's legate. Upon this Barnabo marched an army into the Bolognese, to dispute his taking possession of it. A desperate war ensued; in which, notwithstanding the recent connections between the Florentines and Barnabo, the former could not help wishing success to the legate, as being the less formidable neighbour. This war, however, did not divert their

attention from their domestic concerns. One *Nicola Acciajoli*, who had been long first minister to the king and kingdom of *Naples*, and a man of great power and abilities, had for some time resided in *Florence*, on the part of the legate; and had acquired so much authority there, that the people imagined he aspired to a seat in their magistracy. Upon this suspicion they passed a law, that no man could be a magistrate of *Florence*, who was the governor of, or held a post in any other town. Next year *Volterra* was reduced to the obedience of the *Florentines*, through the dissensions of its own citizens. By this time, thro' the removal of the *Florentine* staple to *Telamone*, the *Pisan* state was rendered almost a desert, and their ports abandoned. They had, from time to time, interrupted the *Florentine* navigation into *Telamone*; and such heart-burnings arose between the two states, that it was plain an open breach must be the consequence; a colourable pretext now being only wanting, which soon presented itself. The castle of *Petrabona*, belonging to the *Pisans*, had been seized by some private persons, and was now besieged by their former masters. *Pietro Gambacurta*, being then an exile from *Pisa*, lived at *Florence*; from whence he made several incursions, at the head of his own followers, into the *Pisan* territory. His being protected by the *Florentines*, gave the *Pisans* a pretext for entering upon hostilities; and the *Florentines* undertook to raise the siege of *Petrabona*, which, however, was taken by the *Pisans* in their fight.

For with
Pisa.

THE *Florentines* looked upon this event as a disgrace to their arms, and in a few days after fell into the *Pisan* territory with a great army, in which were eight hundred horse and four thousand foot, all of them mercenaries. They encamped near *Pacciole*, and reduced most of the neighbouring garrisons. Their general in this expedition was *Bonifacio Lupi* of *Parma*, who, being a regular bred soldier, seldom deigned to consult with the *Florentine* presidents, who always attended their generals in the nature of field-deputies, or any of the other *Florentines*. This haughtiness rendered him disagreeable to the state, and *Rodolfo Varanio* of *Camerino* took his command. The new general instantly led his troops to the walls of *Pisa*, and having forced his enemy's lines, which they thought impregnable, he found himself in an open plentiful country. Having wasted or burned all in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*, he intercepted letters from *Pacciole*, directed to the *Pisan* government, informing it of the weakness of the place, on account of the flower of the garrison and inhabitants having marched to plunder the territory of *Volterra*, and begging for a reinforcement. *Varanio*, upon this, marched directly to *Pacciole*.

aisle, and arrived time enough to make such a disposition of his troops as to cut off the return of marauders to the town, which was reduced to such streights, that it was agreed, by a Pacciole capitulation, the place should be given up, if it was not suc- taken by-
coured by a certain day. The commandant of the citadel theFloren- refused to agree to this capitulation; but a large breach being tines.
made in the walls, the Florentines entered the place sword in hand, in hopes of having the plunder of it. But upon the townsmen, who had made the capitulation, throwing themselves upon their knees before Varanio and the Florentine presidents, and laying the whole blame of the resistance upon the commandant, they were saved from plunder. This act of compassion ruined the authority of Varanio in the army, especially with the mercenaries; and though he took a few more places in the neighbourhood, yet two thousand horse deserted from him; and he was at last obliged to resign his command to Pietro Farnetio, who was esteemed one of the best officers in Italy.

THE war between the Florentines and the Pisans all this The Flo- time went on briskly by sea. The former had hired two great rentines galleys from the Genese, commanded by Perino Grimaldi, and enter the two others were sent them from the kingdom of Naples, port of through the credit of Acciaïoli. Those four great vessels, as Pisa.
they were in those days thought, proved an overmatch for all the Pisan marine. They made descents all along the enemy's coasts, where they took some places of strength and importance; and at last they even entered the harbour of Pisa, by breaking through the great iron chain which secured it, and which, carrying it off with them, they hung up in the old temple of Mars at Florence, as a trophy of their maritime power, where it is said to hang to this day.

EARLY in the spring, after Farnetio received his command, Exploits he attempted to surprise Lucca, but miscarried; and five hun- and death- dred Florentines were defeated by their enemies in the neigh- of Farnetio- bourhood of Barga, then besieged by the Pisans. Those tio.
checks served only to excite Farnetio to do something that might more than counterballance them. He entered the Pisan territory, and came to a general engagement with their whole force; in which he gave his enemies a total defeat, by taking prisoner their general, with a great number of their soldiers, and almost all their military ensigns, which he carried back in great triumph to Florence. His modesty was equal to his glory. The Florentines, who, in all affairs of government and war, affected to imitate the Roman republicans, in a full assembly offered him a crown of laurel; but

he refused it, as being too great an honour, till he could perform some service of greater consequence to the state.

SOON after this, *Farnetio* again invaded the *Pisan* territory, and skirmished with his enemies at their very gates. We know not, however, that he made any dispositions for besieging the city: but it is certain, that, instead of celebrating, as was the custom of the *Italians* in those days, affrontive abusive games before the places they could not take, he struck under the walls of *Pisa* some coins, which carried his own device, that of a fox couchant ^b. His successes delivered *Barga* from the long siege it had sustained; for no sooner were they made known to the besieged, by a detachment of horse thrown into it by *Farnetio*, than the garrison made so brisk a sally, that they drove their enemies out of their entrenchments, and forced them to abandon the siege. The *Pisans* must now have submitted to whatever terms the *Florentines* had pleased to impose upon them, had it not been for two events. The first was the death of the brave *Farnetio*, who was carried off by a pestilential disease, in the midst of his victories. The history of the next event has its rise in that of *England*; and *Arctin* ^c has recounted so many curious particulars concerning the *English* adventurers of that time in *Italy*, unmixed with the fictions that prevailed concerning them, that an *English* reader must be pleased with an authentic information; the whole being hitherto justly deemed little better than a romance. We find ourselves, however, obliged to turn back to the *English* history to make our narrative clear.

Case of the
banditti,
and the
English
mercena-
ries.

UPON the conclusion of the treaty of *Bretigny*, in 1360, between *Edward III.* of *England*, and king *John* of *France*, a peace succeeded between the two nations, which deprived a vast number of soldiers of their bread, both princes keeping few troops more than were sufficient for garrisons ^d. It happened, that, during the war, numbers of *English* gentlemen and others had given leave to their retainers to build houses, which were generally fortified, upon lands conquered from the *French* king, and given by king *Edward* to his great lords, which lands now reverted to the *French* crown by the treaty of *Bretigny*. Many of the possessors of those castles, as they were called, refused to give them up, and were therefore proclaimed traitors by *Edward's* orders, though they pretended that they were in the pay of the king of *Navarre*, who disclaimed them; so that they were obliged to submit. Most of the owners of the castles were men who had seen

^b ARETIN, p. 173.

^c Ibid. p. 173.

^d BARNE'S Life of Edward III. p. 611.

a great deal of service, and were either gentlemen by birth, or had raised themselves by their merit. Being afraid to return to *England*, and unable to subsist in *France*, they consulted together how to make their fortunes by their swords, and *Italy* naturally presented itself first to their thoughts. All *France* at this time was filled with robberies by disbanded soldiers, who, in the spring of the year 1361, assembled at *Givry in Bresse*, to the number of sixteen thousand; many of them headed by the same leaders who had commanded them in time of war. Their first intention was to march to *Avignon*, to plunder the pope's immense treasures there. King *John* sent against them *James of Bourbon*, one of the most considerable noblemen in *France*; but the companions, or late-comers, (for they went by both names) soon beat his army with great slaughter, and he himself was killed, together with his son. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had not the *English*, to the number of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, detesting the cruelties and excesses of their companions, separated themselves from the main body, who soon after dispersed themselves into different parties, and were taken either into the pay of the pope, or of other princes.

THE *English* were commanded by Sir *John Hawkwood*. *Account of*
This extraordinary person was a native of *Heningham* in *Essex*. Sir *John*
His father was a tanner, and he himself bound apprentice to a taylor, and by taking himself to the practice of arms, he distinguished himself so greatly that he received the honour of knighthood, and probably before the peace of *Bretigny* he acquired a considerable property as well as rank. His first design, and that of his officers under him, was to offer their services to *Florence*, preferably to all other states, on account of the great losses the *Florentines* had suffered by the money they had so generously lent to the *English*. According to *Aretin*^d, they actually made the offer immediately upon the death of *Farnetio*; but their demands being too high, the *Florentines* rejected them, and they were obliged to enter into the service of *Pisa*. The same author gives another reason for their preferring the service of *Florence* (and it is confirmed by our histories and records) which is, that there was at that time so great a number of *Florentines* in *England*, that the *English* looked upon those in *Italy* as their own countrymen.

• FROM this it appears, that *Hawkwood* did not enter *Italy*, as is commonly thought, single and unattended, but at the

which enters
into the
Pisan ser-
vice.

He defects
to the Flo-
rentines.

head of a very respectable force, which soon turned the tide of success against the *Florentines*. The *Pisans*, without difficulty, granted them all their demands; and the *English* no sooner took the field, than they marched through *Lucca*, *Pistoia*, and *Prato*, and encamped at *Firetola*, within two miles of *Florence* itself. The manner in which the *English* made war was very different from what the *Florentines* had ever seen before, and incredible was the terror they spread wherever they came. They proceeded, it is true, with fire, sword, and rapine, in which they did no more than copy the practice of the *Italians* themselves; but returned to *Pisa* with a much greater booty than had ever been known there in such an expedition. The richness of it assured them to a second enterprize. They marched from *Pisa* to *Empoli*, which lies between the rivers *Elba* and *Pesa*; and leaving *Florence* on the left hand, they came to *Figline*, in the vale of *Arno*, so that they took it without much difficulty, and made there an incredible booty. The boldness and rapidity of those expeditions struck the inhabitants with such consternation, that they abandoned many of their towns, and the *English*, almost without resistance, took others. The *Florentines* marched their army to *Ancisa*, in the same vale, where they entrenched themselves; but in so awkward a way, that the *English* forced their entrenchments, took their camp, and drove them into *Ancisa*. In this engagement the *Florentine* general *Pietro Farnetio*, brother to the former general of that name, was made prisoner, together with a great number of other officers and soldiers, and the *Florentines* lost all their carriages and baggage. Next day the *English* broke through a wall and ditch that reached from *Ancisa* to the *Arno*, which opened their way to *Florence* itself, where all were filled with amazement and dismay. Some blamed the generals, others the soldiers, and all agreed that they were betrayed, without allowing the valour of their enemies to have contributed to their misfortunes. Eight hundred *German* horse, who served in their camp, were immediately cashiered; and *Pandolfo Malatesta*, who happened to be at *Florence* during the late overthrow, was appointed to succeed the captive general. The *Pisans* gave out that they would come by the way of *Arezzo* to *Florence*, by a certain day which they named, and in a braving manner desired the *Florentines* to be ready to receive them. Upon this the *Florentines*, who really believed them to be in earnest, fortified *St. Miniato* with five hundred soldiers, and threw up strong entrenchments for defending all the avenues to their city, waiting for their enemies with the utmost anxiety. But the *Pisan* soldiers having no stomach for

for the expedition, the *English* left them at *Figline*, and forcing all the *Florentine* entrenchments in the night time, they came by break of day to *Ripoli*, within two miles of *Florence*, before their march was heard of. The whole city was instantly filled with uproar and consternation, and every man who could carry arms drew out before the gate; so that, including the army which was then in *Florence*, their number could not be fewer than thirty thousand men, against six thousand *English*; but they never once thought of attacking the enemy; all their care was to defend themselves. From *Florence* the *English* returned to *Figline*, with a great many captives, and a large booty; and from thence marched to *Arezzo*, so that, to use *Aretin's* own words, they knocked by turns at the gates of *Florence* and *Arezzo*, taking *Figline* in the midway, and nothing continues he, could be more terrible than the sound of their name.

By the close of the campaign, however, the captives the *Stratagem* *English* had made were so numerous, and their booty so un- of the Eng- wieldy, that they were at some loss in contriving how to lish. carry them back to *Pisa*, especially as the way was encumbered and difficult. But this they effected by the following extraordinary stratagem. They sent a formal message to *Florence*, inviting the presidents to assist in celebrating mas with them in *Salviano's* church at *Florence*, on the thirteenth of *November*. Were not the fact so well attested as it is by their own historian^a, one could scarcely imagine that the *Florentines* were absurd enough to give implicit credit to the message, and instead of making dispositions for harrassing and preventing the retreat of their enemies, they thought of nothing but of preparing to defend themselves by the appointed day, while the *English*, setting fire to their camp at *Figline*, returned unmolested to *Pisa* with all their plunder and prisoners.

It is astonishing that a people, who, but a few months *The Flo-* before had behaved with such firmness and intrepidity as the *rentines* *Florentines* did against a numerous *German* army, should trem- *desist the* ble within their own walls at the sight of a handful of *Eng-* *Pisans*: *lish*, whose motives for fighting were much the same as those of the *Germans* had been: but it is impossible to account for the difference of dispositions, which the alteration of circumstances may make amongst a people. The *English* were received in triumph by the *Pisans*, and by them admitted to winter in their city. According to our author, they had no reason to be fond of their new guests; for they had nothing

^a Ibid. pag. 174.

they could call their own; the *English* engrossing all both without and within doors. As to the *Florentines*, they no sooner heard that the *English* were gone into winter-quarters than they took the field, and totally defeated the *Pisans*, who were besieging *Barga*. The *Pisans* applied to the *English*, who refusing to make a winter campaign, the *Pisans* were every where worsted.

they hire
troops.

DURING the winter both parties prepared for a vigorous campaign. The *Florentines* hired troops in *France* and *Germany*, and the *Pisans* took into their pay three thousand *German* horse. The *Florentine* mercenaries did not arrive time enough to prevent the *Pisans* from opening the campaign with great advantages; but it does not appear that the *English* had ever been fond of acting in conjunction with the *Pisans*; for this year they crossed the river *Marina* in a separate body, and fell into the vale of *Mugelli*, where they got great booty, and made many prisoners. As to the *Pisans* and the *Germans*; they encamped between *Prato* and *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* were thus obliged to divide their troops; part were allotted for the defence of the city, and part to check the depredations of the *English*, who, however, returned to the *Pisan* camp, without seeing any enemy. The rest of the campaign consisted as usual of horrid depredations; and the *Florentines*, from their walls, had the mortification to see their territory all in flames around them, and to hear the voices of their enemies, while they were besieging their city. In the mean while, however, a *Florentine* body of horse scoured the country round *Pisa*, and attempted, to take *Leghorn*, but were obliged to return home, lest their retreat should have been cut off.

The English
bought
off by the
Florentines;

It is probable that the *Pisans*, before the end of this campaign, would have made themselves masters of *Florence*, had not the *Florentines* tampered with the *English*, by offering them large sums to change their party. The *English* pleaded their honour, and refused to fight against the *Pisans*; but were prevailed upon not to fight against the *Florentines*, and offered to enter into their service against any other enemy than the *Pisans*. But the *English* general, *Hawkwood*, with a spirit far above his birth, rejected a neutrality of any kind, and, at the head of one thousand of his countrymen, remained in the *Pisan* service. The defection of the *English* from the *Pisans*, gave the *Florentines* vast spirits, and they made *Galeazzo Malatesta* general of their army, which now amounted to above ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, all regular troops. *Malatesta* was one of the best officers then in Italy, and he led his army without loss within

within four miles of *Pisa*. The *Pisans* of late had learned to despise the *Florentines*; and having an entire reliance on the valour and abilities of *Hawkwood*, they determined to give their enemies battle. *Hawkwood*, knowing how much his army had been weakened by the defection of the *English*, proceeded cautiously: he ordered a few squadrons of his horse to make frequent incursions towards the *Florentine* camp, and then to retire. This was repeated so often, that the *Florentines* at last disregarded their alarms, which *Hawkwood* observing, he ordered the assault to be renewed, and made dispositions for supporting his squadrons, who were then commanded to push on to the enemy's camp with his whole force. The *Pisans*, who made the attempt, were repelled by the valour of the *Arezzians* in the *Florentine* army, and, being seconded by the *Florentines*, eight hundred of them were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. Upon this ^{whose ar-} *Hawkwood* gave a signal for a retreat, which was performed ^{my muti-} in such good order to *Sabino*, where the main body lay, that ^{nies.} *Malatesta* ordered no pursuit should be made. After this the *Florentines* returned home, and made a pompous exhibition of their prisoners along the streets of their city. *Malatesta* then again took the field; but he scarcely had entered the *Pisan* territory when his army refused to march farther, unless they were gratified with double pay. With great difficulty he appeased them; but in a day or two after the mutiny again broke out with such fury, that bloodshed ensued, and *Malatesta*, not chusing to proceed while his army was in such a temper, returned to *Florence*.

THE *Florentines* retained so much of the *Roman* republican *Magnanimity* spirit, that when defeated they refused to treat of peace; ^{city of the} but now that they had gained the victory, great numbers *Florentines* amongst them began to talk of an accommodation, and sometimes urged it in the strongest terms. Some political considerations intermingled with this desire of peace; for the more sensible of the *Florentine* magistracy became apprehensive, if the *Pisans* were too far pushed, that they would throw themselves under the protection of *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, who only wanted such a pretext to make himself master of *Tuscany*. At last, ^{Their peace} by the mediation of the pope, the *Pisans* sent deputies to *Pes-* ^{with the} *cia*, where they conferred with those from *Florence*. During *Pisans*. those conferences *Barnabo* prevailed with *John Agnelli*, a *Pisan*, a creature of his own, to make himself chief magistrate, and this hastened the conclusion of the peace, which was both honourable and advantageous for *Florence*. *Petrabona* was given up to the *Florentines*; some *Pisan* fortifications were razed, and the *Pisans* were re-admitted to all their former immu-

immunities in *Florence*. Ten thousand ducats of gold were agreed to be paid in five years by the *Pisans* to the *Florentines*; and the latter had the glory of hearing the peace proclaimed at *Pesjia*, in their own territory, while their army was in that of *Pisa*. The common people of *Florence*, however, were so far from being satisfied with those terms, that *Carlo Strozza*, who had mediated the peace under the pope, was in danger of his life from their rage. Soon after his holiness invited the emperor *Charles IV.* into *Italy*, to defend him against *Barnabo*, and persuaded the *Florentines* to send four of their principal citizens to attend him. His holiness was at great pains to bring the *Florentines* to an immediate declaration against *Barnabo*; but they flatly declined it, and thereby highly incensed both the pope and the emperor. The latter, who had depended chiefly upon the *Florentines*, being so poor that he could not pay an army, was obliged to clap up a peace with *Barnabo*, disbanded his soldiers, and went with a very mean retinue to *Rome*. *Lombardy* being now at peace, *Charles* intimated a design he had of visiting *Florence*. The *Florentines* immediately guessed the truth, which was, that his visit would end in a demand of money, and they sent some deputies to him to sound his dispositions towards their republic. *Charles* received them with great sternness, and upbraided their government for having usurped upon the imperial authority. He at the same time demanded of the *Florentines*, that they should deliver up to him all the *Pratoline*, the *Volterrana*, and *Lucquesse* territories.

To give weight to this demand, he raised some troops and marched to *Lucca*, where he was honourably received; but his soldiers committing some hostilities at *St. Miniato*, the *Florentines* assembled their army and repelled force by force. This and some other events that fell out, about the same time, at *Sienna* and *Pisa*, threw all *Tuscany* once more into war; but all united against the emperor, who was obliged to return to *Germany*. It is said, however, not without probability*, that the *Florentines*, before *Charles* left *Italy*, made him a present of money for confirming their privileges. A quarrel at this time happened between the *Florentines* and the inhabitants of *St. Miniato*, which being besieged by the *Florentines*, *Barnabo* came to relieve, on pretence of being invited thereto by the *Miniatese*. The *Florentines* upbraided him for the ungenerous return he had made to their not siding

* Annales de l'Empire, par VOLTAIRE. Vie de Charles IV.

with the pope and the emperor against him; and understanding his army was set out to relieve the town, they pressed the siege with more vigour than ever. *Barnabo's* general on this occasion was the famous Sir *John Hawkwood*, a name still terrible to the *Florentines*, whose general was *Giovanni Regino*, reckoned likewise an able soldier. When *Hawkwood* approached the *Florentine* camp, he found it fortified in wood in such a manner that it was unadvisable to attack it. He, therefore, drew off to the distance of about ten miles. This *Florentine* gave the *Florentine* magistrates and common soldiers such spirits, that they upbraided *Regino* with cowardice, for refusing to lead them against the enemy. Finding that all his remonstrances were vain, "Let us march then," said he, "since it must needs be so. Those giddy-headed blunderers shall soon find that I am destitute neither of courage nor conduct." He then left a sufficient number for defending the camp, and began his march by break of day against *Hawkwood*, who no sooner saw the *Florentines* advance in order of battle, than he assured himself of victory. He ordered his regular troops to take a plentiful refreshment, and to contain themselves within their trenches; but sent out his irregulars of all kinds to skirmish with his enemies, and thereby to encrease their fatigue after so long a march, during a sultry day. This stratagem had the desired effect, and *Hawkwood*, at the critical minute, fell with his fresh troops upon the *Florentines* with so much fury, that he obtained a cheap and a complete victory. The *Florentine* general was taken prisoner: the number of the slain and captives was very great, and the rout was total.

NOTWITHSTANDING this victory, the *Florentines* before *St. Miniato* made so good a countenance, that *Hawkwood* durst not attempt to raise the siege, which, after the *Florentine* manner of proceeding, was carried on with greater spirit after their defeat than it had been before. Even *Hawkwood's* fall in with his victorious army into their country did not shake their resolution; and at last the place being betrayed to them, the authors of the revolt were carried to *Florence*, and there put to death.

LUGUA was then possessed by an imperial governor, who had strengthened his garrison with some of *Barnabo's* troops. They were dismissed from that service upon the governor discovering that they designed to make themselves masters of the city. Upon their dismissal the governor offered to restore the *Lucqueses* to full freedom upon paying him twenty-five thousand

thousand crowns of gold ^a (A); but the *Lucquesi*, having long lost their liberty, were consequently without property; and that noble city and fertile territory was not able to raise so poor a sum, though it was to purchase them the inestimable blessing of freedom. The *Florentines* generously and disinterestedly lent it to them, and sent it by some of their ablest citizens, who assisted the *Lucquesi* in new modelling their state, they having, during their long thralldom, forgotten all the original principles of their constitution and government. The first step the *Lucquesi* took to secure their recovered liberty, was to demolish the fort that *Castruccio* had built to bridle their city.

Great po- THE *Florentines* at this time held in their hands the ba-
lance of the lance of power in *Lombardy*, if not all over *Italy*, and it is
Floren- wonderful with what address and resolution they managed it.
tines. In resentment of *Barnabo* having stirred up the revolt of *St. Miniato*, they entered into a treaty with pope *Urban* at *Viterbo*, and sent eight hundred horse to the assistance of his legate at *Bologna*. *Barnabo* was at that time besieging *Reggio*, in the *Bolognese*; and while the *Florentine* horse were on their march, some of his party appeared about *Pisa*. This obliged the *Florentines* to recal their cavalry for some time; but *Barnabo's* troops declined an engagement; and the *Florentines* resuming their march to *Lombardy*, came time enough to assist in beating *Barnab.*, and in raising the siege of *Reggio*. The excessive heats and fatigues of this campaign cost *Donati*, the *Florentine* general, his life. Soon after a peace succeeded between the pope and *Barnabo*; and the *Florentines*, having withdrawn their troops from *Lombardy*, sent deputies to *Avignon*, to congratulate *Gregory XI.* upon his accession to the popedom. Those deputies found his holiness somewhat dissatisfied with regard to the state of affairs in *Tuscany*; but matters were somewhat cleared up when the *Perugians*, for want of the necessaries of life, were obliged to submit themselves to his legate, and that too without terms.

^d *ARETIN*, pag. 179.

(A) There is no such coin as eleven thousand and sixty-one a crown of gold in *Tuscany*; pounds one shilling and three- but according to Mr. *Busching's* pence sterling, at the present calculation (1), the sum here rate of money. demanded seems to amount to

(1) See *Busching's Geography*, vol. iii. pag. 8.

A kind of an accommodation, however, was clapped up between his holiness and the *Florentines*, in which were included the *Pisans* and *Siennese*, the *Arezzians*, and the *Lucques*.

THE *Florentines* had now long preserved the face of domestic unanimity; they had met with no blows but what were easily recoverable, and the riches of their state at this time were beyond belief. The democratical part of their government was in some respects perhaps too prevalent; but it had the effect of preserving unanimity amongst the noble or great families. Some of those families, however, by accommodating themselves partly to the manners and partly to the professions of the plebeians, had risen to prodigious wealth and credit with their fellow-citizens. Of these the chief were the families of *Medici* and *Ricci*, who, having separate interests, split the whole state into factions. The *Florentine* plebeians, upon recollection, had good sense enough to conclude that one or other of those families might invade their constitution, and therefore a public act passed, that neither of them should be admitted into any post of trust or power in the state. This resolute but rational determination was succeeded by some years of so great tranquility, as to afford nothing material for history to transmit during that period, farther than, that all the power of the *Ubaldi*, the ancient enemies of the *Florentine* state, was then extinguished in the *Casentine*; and that many noble edifices, though erected in that infant age of true taste, now arose, and still do credit to *Italy*.

WE are now arrived at the year 1375, which opens a new scene of history. Ever since the time of *Clement VI.* the popes had generally been either *Frenchmen*, or in the *French* interest; and, residing at *Avignon*, they had managed their *Italian* possessions by legates, or governors, who of all mankind were the most execrable and oppressive. Under the specious shew of papal authority, they extended their tyranny over free states; they took the banditti, with which *Italy* then swarmed, into their pay; and they justified the most execrable of their actions, when unsuccessful, by their master's orders, and when successful, by the plenitude of their own power, both which they knew to be indisputable. Their excesses put the *Florentines* to great inconveniences. They had always professed themselves *Guelphs*, and so artfully had they managed matters, that the popes had never been able to dissolve their constitution. The papal court and legates, sensible of the *Florentine* system of policy, durst not break with their state, and depended upon accidents for bending them to

A. D.

1375.

Great spirit of the Florentines against the pope.

the pope's will. An accident of that kind presented itself this year. The *Florentine* state was afflicted with famine, through the sterility of the season, and had applied again and again to the legate of *Bologna* for some relief, which he flatly refused them. The autumn promised well; but the legate, determined to impose the papal yoke on the necks of the *Florentines*, sent a great army into their territories, to prevent their reaping their harvest. The reader is here to observe, that all *Italy* continued still to be full of mercenary soldiers, and such were they whom the legate employed on this occasion; the *Florentines*, therefore, wisely resolved to see rather than fight their enemies, who, for money, became their good friends, to the legate's great surprize and disappointment. About the same time it was discovered, that the legate had practised with the inhabitants of *Prato* to revolt from the *Florentines*, which might have been attended with the ruin of the *Florentine* state.

They engage the Italian states to assert their liberties.

THE elevated genius of the *Florentine* government and people again manifested itself on this occasion. All orders and ranks united in a hearty detestation of the clergy; but at the same time without any virulent expressions of their indignation. They chose eight of the ablest and most unexceptionable men in their state as a council of war; and the plan on which they proceeded, was the noblest that can be imagined, for it consisted in exciting the neighbouring states to assert their liberties. Impelled and assisted by them, the inhabitants of *Citta di Castello* took arms against the garrison that bridled them, and expelled it. The pope's legate at *Perugia* sent a body of troops to reinforce the garrison, and the *Perugians* took that opportunity of taking arms, expelling the legate, and making themselves masters of the strong citadel built to overawe them; all which they did by the assistance of the *Florentines*. After this the people of *Spoletto*, *Gubio*, *Forli*, *Viterbo*, and a great many other places in the papal dominions, especially in the *Pescara*, declared themselves independent of the pope. In short, the flame that had been long smothered, now blazed forth in full fury. The *Italians* had long detested the pride and haughtiness of the legates, who, as our author^a elegantly expresses himself, employed no arts of government but soldiers and citadels. The *Florentines*, sensible of this, did all they could to spread the conflagration wider, their fundamental policy consisting in having as few powerful neighbours as possible. The people of *Granavioli*, a place now so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely

^a ARETIN, pag. 181.

marked in the maps of *Italy*, took arms against the legate, and he sent *Hawkwood*, who, with his small band of *Englishmen*, was now in the pope's pay, from *Bologna*, to reduce them. Scarcely had *Hawkwood* left *Bologna*, when the *Bolognese*, having been before prepared by the *Florentine* council of war, took arms and asserted their own independency, which they had no sooner done than they received a powerful reinforcement from *Florence* to maintain it.

THE view we have exhibited of the states of *Tuscany*, and its neighbourhood, is taken from the most unquestionable *Italian* authorities before the reformation; and therefore we cannot doubt that *Hawkwood* and his *Englishmen*, though they had been hired for conveniency by the pope or his legate, in their own hearts most sincerely detested the papal tyranny. *Hawkwood*, perceiving that *Granaccioli* was irrecoverable, took up his quarters in *Faenza*, where, according to our author^a, a great many acts of violence, and some of cruelty were committed; and at last *Hawkwood*, perhaps, because he was not paid by the legate, sold the place to the *Ferrarese*.

POPE Gregory was then at *Avignon*, but was minutely informed of every thing that had happened in *Italy*, and had thundered out his excommunications against *Florence*. Upon this the *Florentines*, who were always decent, appointed *Alessandro Antilla* and *Donato Barbadori*, two of the most learned and eloquent men of their state, to go to *Avignon*, and to plead the cause of *Florence* before the pope; but though they did this in the most moving manner, the interdicts against *Florence* were confirmed, and their goods sentenced to be confiscated wherever found. The spirit which *Barbadori* manifested on this occasion was great and memorable. As soon as the pope had pronounced the sentence against his *Florentine* country, he turned round to an image of God, and in the time hearing of his holiness, he exclaimed, "Oh God! we the deputies of the *Florentines*, appeal to thy equity from this unjust sentence of thy vicar. Thou who art subject neither to deceit nor anger; Thou who lovest the liberty but not the slavery of thy people; Thou who hatest tyrants, and the lusts of tyrants, defend at this time the liberty of the *Florentine* people, and become their auspicious guardian." Courage of a Florentine

THE pope, in order to reduce the *Bolognese*, whose revolt he entirely imputed to the *Florentines*, hired a body of *Bretons*, who, in autumn this year, arrived in *Italy*; upon which the *Florentines* sent the greatest part of their own troops to defend The pope takes the Bretons into pay

^a ARETIN, pag. 181.

Bologna, and blocked up all the passes of the *Appennines*, to exclude the enemy from their territory. The legate of *Genova* headed the *Bretons*, who consisted of six thousand horse and three thousand foot; but he affected to proceed with vast tenderness towards the *Bolognese*. He suffered no ravages to be committed in their territory, and sent several messengers, offering them pardon and amnesty for all that had passed, which inclined a great number of the inhabitants to submit; and at last a conspiracy was formed for that purpose, which was defeated by the vigilance of *Varanio* of *Camerino*. The legate still continued to hover round the city. About the same time another conspiracy was discovered, for putting *Arezzo* into the hands of *Salò's* sons; and the conspirators were brought to condign punishment. Towards the end of the summer the *Bretons*, being baffled in all their attempts against *Florence*, retired to *Cesena*. ~~which~~ *Cesena* opened its gates to them. The new guests, however, behaved with such brutality in their quarters, that the inhabitants ran to their arms, and after killing about fourscore of them upon the spot, drove the rest out of their city. The crafty legate seemed to side with the townsmen, and at last persuaded the latter to lay down their arms, which they had scarcely done when the legate again introduced his *Bretons* into the city, where they massacred three thousand of the townsmen.

and comes
to Italy.

WHILE the flames of war were thus spreading all over *Italy*, the pope having taken a fresh body of *English* into his pay, left *Avignon*, and came to *Italy*, in hopes of restoring the papal authority in that country. Being arrived at *Rome*, he invited the *Florentines* to treat of peace with him, and deputies were named accordingly; but after a month's conferences the pope's demands were so high, that they returned to *Florence* without any thing being concluded; upon which the *Florentines* made preparations for continuing the war with greater vigour than ever. In this they were secretly assisted by *Barnarbo* of *Milan*; and they found means to bring over to their service the *English* who were in the pope's pay. This defection gave his holiness vast uneasiness. The eight *Florentines*, who had hitherto acted as field deputies, had behaved so well, that their commissions were continued by the magistracy, to the great discontent of the people. The pope laid hold of this variance to widen the breach between them, and sent letters by his agents, directed not as usual to the magistracy, but to the people of *Florence*, loading the deputies with grievous accusations. But this expedient failed of success, and raised the people's indignation, not so much against the deputies as against the pope. The interdict still
con-

continued; but by the authority of the magistracy and people, all religious ordinances were celebrated in the churches as usual. At last the pope, who was *Gregory XI.* intrigued with *John* the bishop of *Arezzo*, to bring that city over from its alliance with the *Florentines*; but the *Arezzians* no sooner understood this than they ran to arms, and not only expelled the bishop and all his adherents, but burned down their houses, and put some of his relations, who had been engaged in the conspiracy, to death.

THAT same year *Rodolfo* of *Camerino*, the *Florentine* general, seized *Fabrizio*, by consent of the citizens, who wanted to put themselves under the *Florentine* protection; but when the *Florentine* field-deputies demanded, on the part of the republic, possession of the place, he not only refused to give it up, but went into the service of their enemies, and received from the pope the command of five hundred horse. Perhaps the admission of the *English* into the *Florentine* service, was the true cause of his defection. The *Florentines* hung his effigies, with all the marks of infamy, through the most public parts of the city, and deprived him of *Fabrizio*. Towards the end of the year, by the mediation of *Barnabo* of *Milan*, a treaty was set on foot between the *Florentines* and the pope, who had now recovered full possession of *Bologna*, and the conferences were held at *Serezana*; but when both parties were on the point of an accommodation the pope died, and the negotiation was broken off.

S E C T. VI.

Two Popes elected; Discord in France; new Institutions there; farther Exploits of Sir John Hawkwood in the Florentine Service; Intrigues of the Emperor Charles IV. and his Journey to Rome; Disturbances at Florence renewed; the Duke of Anjou arrives in Italy; Sir John Hawkwood enters into the Service of the Emperor; Death of Lewis of Anjou; the Florentines lose and recover Arezzo; Revolutions of the Visconti Family in Lombardy; Distractions of Italy; great Power of Galeazzo Duke of Milan; Death of Urban the Antipope; the Florentines engaged in a War with the Milanese; Successes of the Florentines; Continuation of the History of the brave Sir John Hawkwood; Peace between

Galeazzo and the Florentines, who enter into a League with the French King in the Year 1395.

*A schism
in the pope-
dom.*

UPON the death of pope Gregory XI. the cardinals being met to chuse his successor, the inhabitants of *Rome* beset the conclave, and demanded that he should be a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, and not a *Frenchman* or foreigner; upon which *Bartholomew*, archbishop of *Bari*, a *Neapolitan*, was chosen. Being a proud intractable man, the cardinals pretended that they were under constraint when they chose him; and retiring to *Fundi*, they proceeded to a new election, which fell upon the bishop of *Geneva*; the same who had been the pope's legate in *Tuscany*, and had headed the *Bretons*. The first took the name of *Urban VI.* and the latter that of *Clement VII.* and thus the foundation of a schism was laid, which lasted from competitor to competitor to the year 1417. The *Florentines*, however, acknowledged *Urban* for the true pope, and the schism so wholly engrossed the minds of the public, that all farther thoughts of war between the pope and the *Florentines* were dropt.

*Civil dis-
sentions be-
gin at Flo-
rence.*

A STATE of tranquility thus succeeding, civil commotions as usual arose amongst the *Florentines*. The power of the eight officers, whom we have called field-deputies, became now formidable to the nobility, who loaded them with the blame of all that the *Florentines* had suffered from the interdicts of the popes; and their party being very powerful in the state, they renewed an absurd ill-grounded law, by which the posterity of those who had been proscribed, were disqualified from any share in the magistracy. Their proceedings were attended with great rigour and injustice, and admonitions were sent round to all they disliked, discharging them from their posts in the public, or disqualifying them from entering upon any. This tyranny at last became intolerable, and *Silvester Medici*, or *Medici*, who was then the gonfalonier, resolving to restrain it, presented some proposals to the magistracy for that purpose, which meeting with opposition, a general insurrection of the people ensued, in which the houses of those who had been the most forward in exercising this admonitory law were burnt or destroyed, and their owners would have undergone the same fate, had they not saved themselves by flight. An end being thus put to the admonitory law, eighty citizens were chosen to form a kind of court of appeal, to redress the grievances of all who had suffered by it. But this triumph of the populace was attended with fatal effects to the state. The lowest of the
-fable,

rabble, and men of the most desperate fortunes, thought they had as good a right as the most creditable citizen had to places in the magistracy, and began to form clubs and nightly meetings, each carving out the post he designed for himself in the government. The presidents having proof of those nightly meetings^b, four of the principals were ordered to be apprehended, that the bottom of their designs might be known. The mob upon this took arms, and demanded that their fellows should be released; but this not being immediately complied with, they burnt down the house of *Luigi Guicciardini*, who happened then to be gonfalonier, as they did the houses of a great many rich citizens; and they had even the insolence to hang, in the sight of the presidents themselves, one of the magistrates, who had been active in endeavouring to suppress them. They then proceeded to the palace of the presidents, and other public offices, which they broke open and plundered, and forced the presidents to resign their authority, and to return back as private men to their own houses. After this they entered the palace Michael in triumph, and chose *Michael Landi*, one of the meanest Landi amongst themselves, gonfalonier, and the rest of the magistracy out of their own order; but seemed still to have some regard for *Silvester Medix*, and another knight *Benedict Alberti*: chosen gonfalonier. but their authority could not prevent the goods of the rich from being plundered, the best of the citizens from being driven into exile, and the most horrid outrages from being perpetrated.

THE Florentine historian^c on this occasion indulges himself in many very sensible remarks upon the danger of magistrates taking part with the people in their attempts, forcibly to regulate even what is amiss in a state. He observes, that tho' *Medix* was one of the worthiest men in Florence, and tho' the admonitory law was detestable in itself, yet the manner in which it was repealed was the occasion of all the public calamities that immediately ensued, by giving the common people an opportunity of knowing their own strength. A kind of miracle, however, interposed at this disorderly juncture in favour of Florence.

MICHAEL LANDI (A), the rebel's gonfalonier, tho' chosen by them for the desperate state of his fortune, and the

intre-

^b ARETIN, pag. 190.

^c Id. ibid.

(A) *Machiavel*, who, for particular reasons of his own, is more minute in describing those tumults, than perhaps becomes the dignity of so great a writer as he was, tells us that this very

and mag-
nanimity.

intrepidity of his conduct, happened to be a wise, worthy, and brave man. He had served long abroad; had studied the nature both of men and government; and he had somewhat noble and commanding in his manner and person. Had it not been for his virtue, there had now been an end of the constitution and government of *Florence*, as the ungovernable passion of the people for blood, rapine, revenge, and devastation appeared every day to gather strength. *Landi* seems to have foreseen this, and endeavoured to stop its progress. Far from being daunted by the fury of his countrymen, he chastized it with so much dignity of behaviour, that, desperate as they were, they durst not resist him. The mob, however, resolved to wreak their rage upon the presidents, whose palace they beset, commanding them to come down to their tribunal, to pass such laws as should be proposed to them, and which were in themselves detestable. The presidents had foreseen this attack, and having barricaded their palace, they answered from a window, that they were resolved not to appear in public till the rioters had laid down their arms, and should attend them in a respectable manner, promising they would then pass such good laws as should be legally proposed. The rioters perceiving those presidents not to be of the same timid cast with their predecessors, departed, and in a few days after created eight presidents of their own, whom they invested with all the badges of public power. It is wonderful to consider the effects that even the appearance of public authority has upon the minds of men; for some of the most respectable citizens in *Florence* complied with the mock tribunal, which went on in the regular dispatch of business. This acquiescence gave the usurpers so much encouragement, that they ventured to send some of their officers, and of their clerks, to the legal presidents, demanding them to swear to the validity of their decrees and proceedings. The formality and solemnity with which this demand was made, startled the presidents so much, that they were enclined to comply, when the gonfalonier *Landi*, drawing his sword, cut one of the messengers across the face, ran another thro' the body, and drove the rest out of the house. He had gone too far to stop there; he snatched up the standard of justice, carried it into the street in one hand, with his drawn sword in the other, and being mounted on a very fine horse, he summoned all who wished well to

extraordinary person, when he was elected, happened to have the standard of justice in his hand; that by trade he was a comber of wool; that he was bare-footed, and had scarce a rag to cover him.

their country to attend him. Being soon surrounded by a band of brave worthy citizens, he resolutely proceeded to the place where the mock tribunal was held, but found it abandoned: for the party, understanding what treatment their messengers had met with, had taken arms, and were then marching through other quarters of the town, with a design to attack the palace of the presidents on its weakest side. The gonfalonier upon this returned to the palace, but found the avenues to it beset by the faction. That magistrate had the presence of mind to put every part of the palace in a state of defence against any popular attempt during his absence, and he attacked the rioters with so much intrepidity, that they were put to flight and totally dispersed.

He subdues the rabble.

THE peace of the city being thus restored, a new magistracy was regularly chosen at the stated time; but a law passed that from thenceforth no president should be chosen out of the lower ranks of the people, and even two, who had been elected, were on that account exauctorated, and their places supplied by two knights, one of whom was *Gregorio Scala*, one of the greatest citizens in Florence, and a professed enemy to the admonitory laws. Our historian^b informs us, that the peace of the city was greatly confirmed by pope *Urban* relieving it from the interdict under which his predecessor had laid it.

AN elegant writer^c observes, that the *Florentines* made the same figure at this time in *Italy* as the *Athenians* had done in *Greece*. The fine arts appeared in no part of *Europe* but amongst them: and they were by far the most respected people in *Italy*. Their civil dissensions, however unhappy, encreased their courage, and added to their experience. In matters of religion, though they professed themselves votaries to the see of *Rome*, they exercised the independency that became a free people, and were, perhaps, the most void of superstition of any we read of in history. When the pope touched upon the string of sovereignty over them, they acted with the same spirit against him, as they had done against the emperors and their own tyrants; and what is most incredible in that bigotted age, his fulminations and interdicts served but to encrease their unanimity in despising them, while in other countries they were dethroning princes, and subverting constitutions. Next to this the great character of the *Florentines* consisted in the great faith with which they fulfilled all their engagements, and in their passion for freeing all the other

^b ARET. p. 191.

^c Annales de l'Empire, par VOLTAIRE

states of *Italy* from tyranny. We do not pretend to say that this passion was entirely disinterested, because, as the *Athenians* did amongst the states of *Greece*, the *Florentines* always took the lead amongst those of *Italy*; but it ought to be mentioned, to their honour, that we have not upon record any act of unprovoked oppression that they were guilty of towards their neighbours; nor do we know one instance of their infringing the terms upon which any people came into their alliance, or under their protection (B).

State of
Florence.

FROM the foregoing part of this history, our readers will easily perceive that there existed at this time in *Florence* three different ranks of men, the noblest the commons, or plebeians, and the rabble. The former excelled in dignity and riches, the second in spirit and integrity, and the latter were distinguished by brutal force and unsteady counsels. The commons beheld with horror the precipice from which they had lately escaped, and to which they had been led by their too violent aversion to the nobility. *Aretin* and *Machiavel* are very justly profuse in their commendations of *Michael Landi*, who, had he not been proof against all ambition and dishonesty, might have erected at this time, over his country, a tyranny worse than any she had yet experienced, nay worse than what she was threatened with by the duke of *Athens*. His wisdom was equal to his integrity. By his influence the corporations of the meaner sort of people were annulled, as were all the offices they had bestowed, his own and that of *Lewis Puccio*, and some others of high quality, excepted. In other respects the distribution of public honours was wise and politic, being divided between the greater and the lesser trades, of whom five of the latter and four of the former were always to reside with the magistracy, who were now all nobility, in the palace. This preference of the lower trades had a won-

(B) We have hitherto chiefly followed *Aretin* in this history, both because he was prior in point of time, and most disinterested with regard to facts, not to mention the beauty of his style and manner. *Machiavel* after him wrote indeed the history of *Florence*, but he adapted it to the juncture of time in which he lived; a consideration to which we ought to have no regard, especially as there is no material difference in facts be-

tween him and *Aretin*, or the other historians. But as we are now come to a period very near to that in which the family of *Medicis* began to make the chief figure in *Florence*, *Machiavel's* information, as to facts, must be supposed superior to that of any other historian of that age and country, and therefore we must consider his history as our chief directory to the year in which it is finished.

desful

derful effect in settling the minds of the poorer sort; but it laid the foundation of a new distinction in *Florence*, between the popular and the plebeian faction. The former, consisting of the rich citizens, and the latter of the poorer; but *Florence* at this time lay under another inconveniency, which may be said to have been inherent to its constitution. Placability and forgiveness formed no part of that people's character; and during those civil dissensions, which lasted three years, a great number of citizens had been driven into exile.

THOSE exiles naturally winced in a body, and, having a *Proceed-* strong party within the country, they became very formidable to *ings of the* the magistracy. At first they rendezvoused near *Sienna*, and *exiles.* they attempted to make themselves masters of *Figini*, but were disappointed. After this, part of them entered into the service of *Charles of Durazzo*, who, at the instigation of pope *Urban*, was then making preparations for a war against the unhappy *Joan* queen of *Naples*, because she adhered to his rival *Clement*. This increased the uneasiness of the *Florentine* government, as *Charles* was strongly supported by his kinsman the king of *Hungary*. The *Florentines*, however, without being disconcerted with the difficulties they had to encounter, sent deputies to wait upon *Charles*, under pretence of mediating a peace between the *Venetians* and the *Genoese*; but, in reality, to discover his sentiments towards their state. The deputies were *Strozzi*, *Barbadorio*, and *Benevenuto*. Having discharged their commission, they returned to *Florence*, where *The Flo-* they differed in their report. *Strozzi* made light of *Charles* rentine and his power; but inveighed bitterly against the exiles. *Bar-* *ambassa-* *badorio* was of a different opinion as to *Charles* and his views; *dors differ.* but said he had not given himself the trouble to enquire aught about the exiles, which brought him into a suspicion of favouring them. *Gianazzo* of *Salerno* was then lieutenant-general to *Charles* in *Italy*, and, assembling all the *Florentine* exiles, he made dispositions for marching from *Bologna* to *Florence*. The magistracy there being informed of this fact, and that a great party within the city was ready to receive him, the whole state was thrown into confusion. The informer was *Antonio* count of *Bruscoli*, a man of very bad principles; and he named amongst the conspirators some of the greatest nobility, particularly *Peter Albizi*, *Charles Strozzi*, *Capriani Maugion*, *Giacomo Sacchetti*, *Donato Barbadorio*, *Philip Strozzi*, and *Anselmi*. *Albizi* was then the most respected citizen of *Florence*, and was living upon his own estate in the country, where the *Florentine* soldiers seized him. Though his tenants could easily have rescued him, yet so conscious was he of his own innocence, that he commanded them

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bles, inno-
cently put
to death.

to deſiſt, and went along with his guards. *Carlo Strozzi* alone eſcaped; and, to increaſe the terror of the citizens, new levies of troops were made; and four perſons (A), of whom *Thomas Strozzi* and *Bennet Alberti* are only named, were appointed, with a kind of dictatorial power, to command the army and militia, and to take care that the ſtate ſhould receive no pre-
judice. The trials of the illuſtrious priſoners then came on, and all the horrors of a too democratical government appeared in their ſtrongeſt colours. The judges, whole name we know not, appointed to try them, this did them, even of the ſuſpicion of treaſon; but ſuch was the fury of the mob, that, beſetting the tribunal, they would ſeaſonably torn him to pieces, had he not found them guilty; ſo they were accordingly put to death. The mob then laid down their arms, and each returned to his own home. But they ſoon reſumed them, when the time for the election of new preſidents approached. The *Florentine* hiſtorians very juſtly bewail the ſtate of their country at this time. They who preſided in the government were conſcious that they had been guilty of murdering the nobleſt and moſt innocent perſons of the ſtate, and trembled at the conſequences. Then they added crime to crime for their own ſecurity. They admoniſhed or baniſhed all whom they ſuſpected; and every law they could deviſe was paſſed for their indemnification, and the continuance of their power. At laſt, by the advice of the council of four, that has been already mentioned, forty-fix magiſtrates were created^a, who, with the preſidents, and the other magiſtrates, were to purge the ſtate of all diſaffected perſons, and to ſettle the government as they thought proper. This new council made full uſe of their powers. They admoniſhed, that is, they diſqualified thirty-fix citizens: they reduced twenty noble families to the rank of plebeians, and raiſed twenty plebeian to that of nobility; beſides enacting many ſevere laws againſt the unfortunate exiles; and, to render their power as ſtable as poſſible, they made Sir *John Hawkwood* general of all the troops of the republic.

- Charles of Durazzo vice of his maſter *Charles of Durazzo*, all the *Florentine* exiles; and ſeemed to make diſpoſitions for beſieging *Florence* itſelf with a great army of *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Hungarians*. He ſell firſt into the *Sienneſe*, and then into the *Piſan* terri-

patronizes
the exiles.

^a MACHIAVEL, book iii.

(A) *Machiavel* ſays only though two of them were of two; but *Aretin* mentions four, the dregs of the people.

tory, and both gave him a sum of money to prevent their being ravaged. *Gianazzo* then approached *Florence*, which likewise sought to buy its peace, *Hawkwood* being not yet arrived; but *Gianazzo* rejected all pecuniary offers, and insisted upon the exiles re-admission into the city. This demand was not complied with; and the *Florentines*, having sent an express for *Hawkwood*, put their city in a posture of defence. It appears, that neither *Charles* nor his lieutenant-general had any real design upon the *Florentines*, farther than to keep them neutral, which was a great point between him and *Joan* queen of *Naples*, who undertook to dethrone. *Gianazzo*, however, marched within nine miles of *Florence*; but *Hawkwood*, by this time having entered upon his command, soon checked his progress, and obliged him to retire. *Charles* of *Durazzo* was now returned from *Hungary* to *Italy*, and was very earnest in soliciting the friendship of the *Florentines*, who declined taking any concern in the quarrel between him and the queen of *Naples*. *Charles* knew the vast influence the *Florentines* had in the affairs of *Italy*; and taking advantage of some domestic dissensions at *Arezzo*, he made himself master of that city. This near neighbourhood to *Florence*, occasioned many hostilities between his troops and the *Florentines*, and he continued to take into his pay all the *Florentine* exiles, who were so insolent, that they put to death one of the deputies sent from *Florence* to treat. This increased the resentment of the *Florentines* both against the exiles and *Charles*.

At last *Hawkwood* was ordered to take the field, which he did with so much spirit, that he checked the progress of *Charles*, who sent ambassadors to *Florence* to solicit its friendship. He even pretended, that the *Florentines* had made him a promise of assistance. The *Florentines* received the embassy with great politeness; but observed, that their promise was upon a condition which had been rejected by his cousin the king of *Hungary*, and therefore was no longer binding: they, however, made him a present of forty thousand ducats, on condition that their territory should not be molested by his troops. Upon this, *Charles* returned to *Arezzo*, where he made an apology to the *Florentine* exiles for being at that time obliged to drop their cause, on account of his expedition against *Naples*. From thence he moved to *Rome*, where he was most kindly received by pope *Urban*; and at last he made himself master of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the person of the unhappy queen *Joan*, whom he put to death.

THE *Florentines* were the more alarmed at his success, as they knew that all the hopes of their exiles depended on him. They

A. D.
1381.

They resolved, however, if possible, to keep well with him, and sent him a deputation, at the head of which were *Roberto Aldobrandini* and *Bettino Govenio*, to congratulate him on his accession to his kingdom. He received them with seeming friendship; and, upon their return to *Florence*, the jealousy of the state towards *Charles* was somewhat allayed. About this time the *Gibelin* faction regained their ascendancy at *sirezzo*; but were soon dispossessed, and all that territory was for six or seven months filled with civil commotions.

New troubles in Florence.

FLORENCE had now, in this, nothing to fear but faction, and that soon blasted all the benefits she enjoyed from peace. Every day produced new plots against the government; and the wiser and noble part of the citizens chose to live retired and private, rather than to enjoy the highest preferments in the state. Two noblemen of great rank and family, *George Scali*, and *Thomas Strozzi*, had discovered a new path to power, by declaring themselves the patrons of the plebeians. They were attended by guards, and their proceedings against their fellow citizens were unjust and arbitrary; nor was any subject in the state safe, if they had conceived umbrage against him. One *John Cambio*, a citizen of note, was by one of their spies or guards accused of designs against the state. The charge was found to be malicious and groundless; and the judge, who had cognizance of it, was inclined to have put the accuser to death, when the two demagogues, his patrons, rescued him out of custody, and would have killed the judge, could they have found him; but he (B) retired to the palace of the presidents, where he laid open the danger of the city from the excessive power of those tyrants, and offered to resign his office.

Scali put to death.

THE magistrates, sensible of the public danger, instantly resolved to seize that opportunity, and to free their country from the power of its two tyrants. The house of the judge, or gonfalonier, had been plundered. They counselled him to remain in his office, and promised to indemnify him for all his losses. After this they fell into serious consultations amongst themselves, and determined to act up to the dignity of government. They placed guards about their palace, and sent a party to arrest *George Scali*, who had been the most active in the late rescue. His insolence, and that of *Strozzi*, had by this time made both of them obnoxious, even to the

ARETIN. pag. 197.

(B) The whole of this incident is misrepresented in the English translation of *Machiavel's History of Florence*.

citizens whom they patronized; and so fickle is popular favour, that *Scali* was apprehended without the least resistance, none of his numerous attendants daring to oppose, and *Strozzi* made his escape. All of a sudden the people demanded justice upon their late tyrants, whom they execrated. *Scali*, the very day after his apprehension, was publicly put to death, and some of his dependents were torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. The state of *Florence* was now in a critical situation; for the commonalty, always in extremes, proceeded to violences which threatened the destruction of the city. The admirable wisdom of the presidents interposed. They knew their countrymen would cool, if they had but leisure; and they summoned several public conventions, or assemblies, to give them time for recollection. The event was, that after some of the instruments of the late democracy had been brought to condign punishment, one hundred citizens were chosen for reforming or obviating all the maladies of the state. The standard of justice was then produced, and a perambulation was performed by the new magistrates, with it in front, all over the city, which passed with great tranquillity and public approbation. After this, many of the popular laws against the nobles were rescinded, and great numbers of captives were freed from prison; so that there was a general expectation that all the exiles would be restored. In the mean while, two new companies of trades, which had been erected out of the scum of the people, were abolished, by which all the others were reduced to the number of twenty-one.

THE Neapolitan party of *Charles of Durazzo* took advantage of the unsettled situation of affairs in *Florence*, and moved wood *op* from *Arezzo* to *Marzali*, to the number of three thousand *peses* the five hundred. Upon this, *Hawkwood* was dispatched with Neapolitan and exiles. some troops to observe their motions, and he encamped in their sight; but, not standing a battle, they were pursued by *Hawkwood* into the *Arezzian* territory. All this while, matters were in so violent an agitation in *Florence*, that it can scarcely be said, with propriety, that any form of government existed there. Every day produced skirmishes, sometimes between the old and new nobility, sometimes between the plebeians and the more wealthy citizens. The exiles, without leave, returned, being sure of protection from one or the other party. At last, the party of the nobility prevailed. All the upstart corporations were disenfranchised; the *Guelphs* were restored to all their honours and dignities; the plebeians were reduced to a third share of the government, and rendered incapable of succeeding to certain high posts, particularly

larly that of gonfalonier; and all who had been exiled since the time that *Silvester Medici* was in that post, were readmitted into the state.

Tyranny of the nobles. It is often the misfortune of popular governments, that they carry every thing to extremes. The nobles of *Florence*, now prevailing, carried matters with as high a hand as the plebeians had done before. All the friends of the ancient constitution, that is, of the most creditable commons, now suffered a kind of proscription; and even the great services which *Michael Landi* had done his country, could not screen him from the rage of his enemies. The wiser and better part of the citizens disliked this sudden revolution of power; and some, amongst whom was *George Alberti*, a great nobleman, exclaimed against it; which made the ruling party resolve, if possible, to ruin him. While matters were in this untowardly situation at home, the *Florentines* received an alarm from abroad, that *Lewis* of *Anjou* was marching, as the adopted son of queen *Joan* of *Naples*, to drive *Charles* of *Durazzo* out of *Italy*. The *Florentines*, having no reason to expect any favour from the *French*, stood on their guard, and invited all the states of *Tuscany* to unite with them against *Lewis*, in case he should make any attempt in his march on their liberties. Perhaps their precautions at this time saved them. All that *Lewis* did was to require them to observe a strict neutrality: and *Charles* of *Durazzo*, now king of *Naples*, did the same. The *Florentines* at this time held the balance of power in *Italy*, being courted by four great princes, to wit, pope *Urban*, the duke of *Anjou*, the king of *Naples*, and the king of *Hungary*. Their own inclinations led them to side with pope *Urban* and the king of *Naples*; but they prudently stuck to their neutrality; and, having prevailed on the other *Tuscan* states to join in the proposed confederacy, they gave good words to all, but declared for none. The *Bolognese*, who had come into the general alliance, were apprehensive that *Lewis* designed to seize their city; but the *Florentines* acted towards them with so much honour and firmness, that they remained unmolested. *Lewis* had entered *Italy* at the head of a vast army; and being joined by all the friends of queen *Joan*, his party was very powerful. Pope *Urban*, next to the king of *Naples*, had the most to fear from the *French*; and he earnestly applied to the *Florentines* for money to defend himself, his solicitation being backed by the king of *Naples*. This request could not be granted consistently with the neutrality the *Florentines* had embraced; and yet they thought it necessary to prevent the *French* from getting footing in *Italy*. They therefore privately supplied Hawk-
wood

wood with the money the pope had requested; and he, paying his soldiers with it, went into the service of his holiness, to the great joy of *Charles*, and the displeasure of *Lewis*.

THE *French* now saw that the real sentiments of the *Florentines* were bent against them, and *Lewis* applied to the *French* king for a confiscation of all the effects of the *Florentines* in his country. This served only to unite them more strictly with *Charles*, who was still in possession of *Arezzo*. The *Florentines*, disliking such a neighbourhood, would willingly have regained that city; and some steps were concerted for that purpose, but not executed, the *Neapolitan* governor's instructions not being sufficiently clear on that head. The *Florentines*, however, took possession of many fortresses in the *Arezzian* territory; but avoided giving the smallest umbrage to *Charles*, who about this time succeeded to the kingdom of *Hungary*.

THIS year the *Florentines* had a difference at once with the *Genoese* and the *Venetians*; but upon very different accounts. At the close of the last war between those two states, the *Florentines* became sureties for the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, in case the island of *Tenedos* was not delivered to the *Genoese*; and no such delivery being performed, the *Genoese* made a demand upon the *Florentines* for the money, which obliged the latter to apply to the *Venetians* for their indemnification. The *Venetians* pretended, that the governor of the island alone was to blame, and that they were ready to deliver it up. We are not told in what manner this affair was compromised; but it is probable the prudence of the *Florentines* extricated them from the difficulty; for they lived in harmony with both states.

A SEVERE pestilence now broke out in *Florence*, which drove most of the inhabitants into the country. The government became apprehensive, that the plebeian faction might take advantage of this depopulation to resume its power, and many laws were passed for detaining the inhabitants within the city: but the pestilence being more dreadful than the penalty of the law, it was in a manner abandoned; and all public offices being shut up, scarcely any thing was transacted worthy of mention in history. Next year a strong reinforcement came to the duke of *Anjou* from *France*; and, in their passage to *Naples*, they endeavoured to make themselves masters of *Arezzo*, by the assistance of some of the banished *Arezzians*. They succeeded so far as to seize the city; but could not master the citadel. This news spread consternation amongst the *Florentines*; but they were somewhat comforted by receiving certain intelligence of the death of *Lewis* of *Anjou*.

jou, which they communicated to the *French* without being believed. The siege of the citadel of *Arezzo* was continued with more fury than ever; but the *French*, being convinced that the duke of *Anjou* was dead, intirely changed their system, and, after some negotiating, they sold *Arezzo* to the *Florentines*; upon which the garrison gladly capitulated, and thus *Florence* again became mistress of that city. This acquisition occasioned such joy in *Florence*, that public diversions were celebrated on that account. The *Florentines* then possessed themselves of the *Arezzian* territory, and of the fortresses which were held by the sons of *Saco*, their ancient tyrant. But a great revolution now took place in *Italy*.

Great
power of
the duke of
Milan.

JOHN VISCONTI, the son of *Galeazzo*, a young man of disguised ambition, had now thrown off the mask, and had deprived his uncle *Barnabo* of his life and the principality of *Milan*. The *Florentines*, who had rather dreaded than loved *Barnabo*, at first beheld his fate with indifference; but afterwards they began to think that the young *Galeazzo's* power was too formidable. In order to check him, the *Florentines* did all they could to renew their union with the other states of *Tuscany*. In the mean while, *Charles*, king of *Naples* and *Hungary*, died, to the great mortification of *Florence*. A difference arose between the prince of *Urbino* and the duke of *Gaeta*, which the *Florentines* endeavoured to make up; but the prince of *Urbino* having, in defiance of the *Florentine* mediation, made himself master of his antagonist's person, the *Florentines* declared war against him; and carried it on with so much success, that he was at last reduced to reason. This year the *Florentines* likewise recovered *Liciano*, a town in the *Arezzian* territory, that had for some time been in the possession of the *Siennese*. About the year 1386, pope *Urban* came from *Genoa* to *Lucca*, where he began to raise soldiers, to the vast terror of the *Tuscan* states, who held the papal tyranny in the utmost detestation: all but *Perugia* submitted itself to his power. The *Florentines*, in vain, exhorted the *Perugians* to stand by their liberties, and demolished a great number of fortresses towards the foot of the *Apennines*, which they could not maintain, lest they should be seized by their enemies. Those fortresses belonged to the family of *Ubal dini*, the head of whom, *John Azzo*, began now to make a great figure in *Italy*, and was dreaded by the *Florentines*. Those commotions did not divert the attention of the *Florentines* from their domestic concerns; for we are told, that this year the area before their public palace was enlarged and beautified.

A. D.
1386.

- CIVIL dissensions succeeded. The *Alberti* family was now the most powerful in *Florence*, and *Benedict Alberti* was its head. He had been elected gonfalonier of the city companies; and his son *Magalotti*, a sprightly young nobleman, had been chosen gonfalonier of justice; so that the two principal posts in the state were vested in one family. The other magistrates voted *Magalotti* incapable of the office to which he had been chosen, on account of his youth; and substituted *Bardo Mancini* in his place. Not contented with this, they banished *Benedict Alberti* out of *Florence*; a disgrace which he bore with vast magnanimity. His banishment was followed by numberless acts of injustice inflicted upon his friends and family. The fear of *Galeazzo* of *Milan* now engrossed the attention of *Florence*. He was encouraged by the civil dissensions of the citizens, and by his own good fortune, which had already rendered him master of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, to attempt the mastery likewise of all *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* opposed him; but the *Siennese* were inclined to submit to his power. The people of *Cortona* were then under the protection of the *Siennese*; but perceiving their inclinations for *Galeazzo*, they applied to the *Florentines*, who were so generous as to refuse the government of their city; but sent them some troops to protect their independency. This exasperated the *Siennese* so much, that they privately treated with *Galeazzo* about the surrender of their city to him. *Giovanni Ricci*, a noble *Florentine*, endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their danger, by painting *Galeazzo* in his true colours, and laying open at once his power and ambition. He then advised them to enter into a league with the *Bolognese*, and as many of the *Tuscan* states as they could bring over to the party of freedom and independency, and even to solicit assistance from the *French*, who, he said, were undoubtedly uneasy at the great power of *Galeazzo* in *Italy*. Above all, he counselled them to make new levies, and to be upon their guard at home. *Ricci's* speech was approved of, and his countrymen followed his advice, as far as it was practicable. Even the *Siennese* now made some overtures for renewing their ancient league with *Florence*; and some measures were taken for carrying the war into *Lombardy*, and for rescuing *Pavia*, then besieged by *Galeazzo*. But that scheme was too great for the power of the confederates, and came to nothing; so that *Pavia* fell into *Galeazzo's* hands.
- THIS did not prevent the negotiation from going forward between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*; but it was thwarted by *Galeazzo*, who sought to make himself master of *Polenza*. The *Polenzans* were then under the protection of the *Siennese*;

but having an insuperable aversion to *Galeazzo*, they offered to admit a *Florentine* garrison into their city. The *Florentines* did not readily comply with this proposal, being afraid of dis-obligeing the *Siennese*; but the *Polenzan* deputies formally came before the magistrates of *Florence*, when they were assembled in their town-house, and demanded that *Polenza* should be enrolled in their public inventory, as part of the *Florentine* property, which was accordingly done; and thereby *Polenza* being annexed to the dominion of *Florence*, could not be separated from it without consent of the people. This enrolment highly disgusted the *Siennese*, who now courted the friendship of *Galeazzo*, and complained that the *Florentines* had cheated them out of a city.

Courage and constancy of the Florentines. THIS neither discouraged nor disconcerted the *Florentines*. They entered into an alliance with *Barnabo's* son, and *Antonio* prince of *Verona*, who had both of them been dispossessed by *Galeazzo*. He, on the other hand, complained that the *Florentines* fostered and supported his enemies, and drove all the natives of *Florence* out of his dominions; while the *Florentines*, with a magnanimity peculiar to a free state, made open proclamation, inviting all *Galeazzo's* subjects to reside in their city and territory. At the same time they sent ambassadors to *France*, to make a league with the *French* king; and ordered their general *Hawkwood* to march to *Lombardy*, to the assistance of *Barnabo's* son and his party.

Peace concluded. PETER GAMBACURTA was then the leading man at *Pisa*, but a strong advocate for peace. His authority in *Tuscany* was so great, that the states of *Milan*, *Florence*, *Sienna*, and *Perugia*, entered into a league at *Pisa*. It was at this time that pope *Urban VI.* died, and was succeeded by *Boniface*, though the schism in the popedom still continued. It soon appeared that *Galeazzo* had entered into the *Pisan* league, which was to last three years, for private ends of his own. His great view was against *Florence*; but to keep the other parties of the confederacy either upon his side or neutral, he took occasion to upbraid the *Florentines* with a design against his life, and mentioned the public speech *Ricci* had made as a proof of his allegation. He then drove all the *Florentines* out of his dominions. They, on the other hand, not bearing to be branded with such a calumny, wrote to the states of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Pisa*, to clear themselves, and to lay open *Galeazzo's* wicked purposes. This incident disconcerted the league, and the *Siennese* and *Perugians* refused to ratify it. The *Florentines*, upon this, applied to *Gambacurta*, who, having been sincere in all his proceedings, offered to go in person to *Galeazzo*; but was dissuaded by the *Florentines*,
for

for fear the latter should take advantage of *Gambacurta's* absence to seize *Pisa*. The *Florentines* strove to renew their league with the *Siennese* and the *Perugians*, and offered even to resign *Polenza* to the former; but they proved quite intractable, complaining, that their deputies had been forced by Sir *John Hawkwood* to enter into the *Pisan* confederacy. The *Perugians*, in like manner, complained that the *Florentines* had harboured and entertained their exiles, and that they had endeavoured to seduce some of their towns.

THE *Florentines* had ordered deputies to repair to *France*, as *Ricci* had advised them; but they were intercepted, and detained by *Galeazzo*. The *French* king, however, hearing of this, sent ambassadors to the *Florentines*, offering to take them into his protection upon two conditions. The first was, that they should acknowledge the authority of pope *Clement*; and the other, that they should pay him an annual sum for his protection.

THOUGH the *Florentines* were upon the eve of a war with *The* most ambitious and powerful prince in *Italy*, though they *French* were surrounded by open or secret enemies, and though they *demand* had not an ally whom they could trust, yet they magnanimously rejected those terms, as inconsistent with the good *and mediation* faith and dignity of their state. They even carried their resentment so far, that they refused to accept the mediation of *France* for a peace, when her ambassadors proposed it. This negotiation being at an end, *Galeazzo* sent a letter to *Florence*, containing a formal denunciation of war against the *Florentines*, who, he said, were held in subjection by a pragmatic *Guelph* faction. The *Florentines* recriminated upon him in a most severe manifesto they published, laying open all his crimes and ambition; and thus the war, which was the greatest the *Florentines* had ever undertaken, commenced in the year 1390.

• S E C T. VII.

Containing the History and Progress of the War between Milan and Florence. Hawkwood recalled out of Naples, and again made the *Florentine* General. The *Florentines* raise Men in *France*. Negotiation between them and the Duke of Bavaria, and several States of *Italy*. The noble Actions of Sir John Hawkwood. The *Florentines* victorious. A truce concluded, which was soon broken. The *Flo-*

rentines renew their Confederacy with other States. Death of Peter Gambacurta, and of the famous Sir John Hawkwood. Ten Field-Deputies, or President's of War, chosen at Florence for continuing the War. The Florentines assist the Lucchese. Milan erected into a Dukedom. The Milanese repulsed at Segni. Conspiracy at Florence. The Venetians confederate with the Florentines. The State of Italy in the Year 1400.

Flourishing
state of
Florence.

THE Florentine^a historian observes, that, at the time we now treat of, the republic of Florence was in a most flourishing condition, both as to the state of her finances and the abilities of her subjects. Before the war was proclaimed, the Milanese, the Sicchese, and the other enemies of Florence, rendezvoused near Sienna, to the number of three thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, under the command of Giovanni Azzo, of the family of *Ubalдини*, and *Fantedesco*, a grandson of *Saco*, both of them determined enemies of Florence. Having for some time disguised their intentions by marches and countermarches, they all of a sudden passed *Monte Luco*, with a design to seize upon *San Giovanni*, within which they had some confederates. Being disappointed in their attempt, they marched towards *Arezzo*, ravaging the country all the way. The Florentines sent what forces they could spare to protect *Arezzo*; but the descendants of *Saco* were so powerful in that territory, that they became masters of *Liciano*, a place now scarcely to be met with in maps.

Steadfast-
ness of the
Bolog-
nese.

THE Bolognese continued faithful in their alliance with the Florentines; and Galeazzo marched an army against them, under the command of *Giacomo Vermì* of *Verona*, who took some places in the Bolognese. The people of *Bologna* immediately advertised the Florentines of their danger; and though the latter were in equal danger themselves, they ordered Sir John Hawkwood, who commanded their troops in *Naples*, to their assistance. At the same time, they invited *Rainoldo Urfini*, a general of great renown, to take the command of their troops in *Tuscany*; and ordered new levies to be made in the *Campagna di Roma*, also in the territories of the church, and all over Italy, where men would enlist in their service. In the mean while, Galeazzo, who, by *Machiavel*, is called John Galeazzo Visconti, count of *Virtue*, died at *Sienna*, of a disease

^a ARETIN. pag. 209.

he had contracted in the field. His death introduced a new face of affairs all over *Italy*. *Rainaldo Urfini* accepted of the invitation of the *Florentines*; but while he was upon his march to take upon him the command of their troops, he was treacherously killed at *Aquila*; so that the chief command devolved upon *Hawkwood*. He had marched with great expedition from *Naples* to *Bologna*, and found himself at the head of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, *Florentines* and *Bolognese*. He immediately marched against the enemy, who were besieging *Præmalcore*; but, upon his approach, they retired into the *Modenese* with precipitation. They were pursued by *Hawkwood*, who retook the places which the *Bolognese* had lost.

THE *Florentines* at this time meditated a far greater enterprise than any they had ever yet undertaken. *Charles Visconti*, the son of *Barnabo*, who thought himself the lawful heir of *Milan*, and *Lucino*, a prince of the same family, served under *Hawkwood*; and the *Florentines* apprehended that it would not be impracticable to form a party against the reigning family at *Milan*. This project flattered the high ideas they entertained of their own power and dignity; but they prudently sought to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances. They therefore sent a splendid deputation to *Stephen* duke of *Bavaria*, inviting him to march into *Italy*, and tempting him with a promise of a vast subsidy, and other advantages. They likewise invited the prince of *Carrara*, whose father had been imprisoned by *Galuzzo*, and who himself was then an exile in *Germany*, to return and assert his family-rights in *Italy*; and applied to several other foreign princes for assistance.

The *Florentines* attempt the conquest of *Milan*.

THE war was all this time raging with great fury in *Tuscany*, where the *Siennese* and their allies became masters, by treachery, of a strong place called *Battifolle*, within three miles of *Arezzo*. By this they were rendered very formidable to that city. It happened, luckily for the *Florentines*, that the *Arezzians* themselves had an invincible aversion to the family of the *Tarlatti*, or *Sao*; and therefore, without putting the *Florentines* to great expence, they made a most admirable defence, though they were surrounded on all hands by their enemies, who had found means to possess themselves of their fortresses. The *Florentines* themselves acted with as much spirit, in expectation of the assistances they had solicited from *Germany* and *France*; so that all *Tuscany* was at this time engaged in a war, so expensive to the *Florentines*, that few sovereign states could have defrayed it, they having subsidies to pay to almost all the neighbouring princes. The *Germans*

invaded.

were very poor, and their success was therefore the greatest in that country. The prince of *Carrara* arrived in *Italy* at the head of a large body of *German* horse, and marched with such dispatch, that he surprised *Padua*; but the citadel held out for *John* duke of *Milan*, the eldest son of *Galeazzo*. At the same time *Hawkwood*, having secured the state of *Bologna*, marched through the *Modenese*, and laid siege to *Reggio* and *Parma*, while the duke of *Bavaria* arrived with a fresh army of *Germans*; so that the family of *Galeazzo* was in danger, of losing all its possessions in *Lombardy*, excepting *Milan*. It appears, from the concurring testimony of all historians, that the scheme the *Florentines* had now laid for the conquest of *Lombardy* must have succeeded, had they not unfortunately been obliged to commit the execution of it to *German* mercenaries. The *Veronese* had taken arms for the infant son of *Antonie*, their late prince; but not being supported, as they expected to be, by the duke of *Bavaria*, the *Galeazzo* party had regained the ascendent: and the *Vicenza* was well disposed to revolt; but was obliged to submit to the same power, for want of a head.

Apology
and demands of
the latter.

THE duke of *Bavaria*, on the other hand, in an embassy he sent to *Florence*, laid all the blame of his failure upon the obstructions he received from the duke of *Austria*, the bishop of *Aquila*, and the *Venetians*; but pretended that he had come time enough to save *Padua*, where the citadel still held out. He counselled the *Florentines*, at the same time, to order *Hawkwood*, who was still in *Lombardy* with his army, to join him; but the drift of his whole message was for a fresh supply of money. The *Florentines* replied, that his advice was ridiculous and impracticable, and his demand unreasonable: that the citadel of *Padua* was no object for two great armies, such as his and *Hawkwood's*, to be employed against: that the prince of *Carrara* was at the head of a force sufficient to reduce it: that the swelling of the two great rivers, the *Po* and the *Adige*, rendered it impracticable for *Hawkwood* to join him: that, if he intended to do them any service, he ought immediately to march against *Verona* and *Vicenza*; in which case they would take his demand into consideration, though he knew that they had paid him already all the money they had promised, which was sufficient for defraying the expense of a far greater army than he had brought with him.

Difficulties
of the Flo-
rentines.

THIS answer disoblged and disconcerted the needy *German* so much, that he refused to move from *Padua*; while the *Bolognese* horse mutinying for want of pay, *Hawkwood* was obliged to carry them and his *Florentine* troops back to the *Bolognese*; and thus fell to the ground the vast and well-concerted

concerted project of the *Florentines* for the conquest of *Lombardy*. His retreat revived the spirits of the *Galeazzo* party there; and they assembled a great force to relieve the castle of *Padua*, and retake the town. The *Bavarian* foresaw the difficulties of the *Florentines*, and pretended to make preparations for returning home. At last the *Florentines* submitted to pay him some money, provided he would remain at *Padua*. Their perplexities were great on this occasion. They plainly saw that the *Bavarian* was not to be trusted, and that *Padua* could be saved only by their own troops. They had an army on foot; but the duke of *Ferrara* refused to let it pass through his territories, and it being in no condition to force its way, the *Florentines* applied for shipping to the *Venetians*, who denied them, on account of their connections with the *Galeazzo* family.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* wore a better aspect in *Tuscany*, where the *Milanese* had now few or no troops. Their generals were *Donati Azarolo*, a *Florentine* nobleman, and *Biliotto Biliotti*; and they gained several advantages over the *Siennese*. This brought many of the latter to think of departing from their league with the *Galeazzo* family. *Hawkwood*, all this time, lay with his army amongst the *Bolognese*, who were now heartily tired of the war. They therefore sent ambassadors to *Florence*, pleading their inability to continue it, on account of its expence; and demanding either a loan of money, or leave to make a separate peace. The *Florentines* reproached the ambassadors with the pusillanimity of their countrymen; represented the prodigious sums they had expended in the war, the near prospect they had of success; and concluded by telling them, the peace they talked of could be no other than a bargain for slavery. This magnanimous answer so much stung the *Bolognese*, that they resolved to continue the war with more vigour than ever. The effect of this resolution was soon seen, by a peace that was concluded between them and *Alberti of Ferrara*; by which the latter agreed to give the *Florentine* army a free passage to *Padua*, which was now in the most imminent danger.

THE great merit of Sir *John Hawkwood* appears from the following consideration, that though he was a foreigner, and now very aged; and though the *Florentine* nobility had all, in their turns, aspired to be generals, and many of them had been intrusted with the command of armies; yet *Hawkwood* was always, as it were, the sheet-anchor of their state in all junctures of difficulty and danger, and the greatest of their

nobility then submitted to his command. He was, on this occasion, sent to relieve *Padua*, the duke of *Bavaria* being now returned to *Germany*. *Hawkwood* arrived but just in time to save the city; for his enemies, though very numerous, would not stand a battle. This service being performed, he marched towards *Verona* and *Vicenza*, in hopes of being favoured by some commotions in those cities; but the duke of *Milan* had taken his measures so well, by bridling them with strong garrisons, that he was disappointed, and obliged to take up his winter-quarters in the *Paduan*. Such were the transactions of the year 1391.

The
French
assist the
Florentines.

THE return of the duke of *Bavaria* to *Germany*, induced the *Florentines* to apply to the *French* (who may then be said to be a free people) with more eagerness than ever for assistance. The *French* nobility were at this time very independent of their king, and had been long practised in war. The count *de Sigmignac* was one of the most illustrious amongst them, and to him the *Florentines* particularly applied. He readily listened to their proposals, and the fate of *Lombardy* was once more rendered doubtful. It was agreed, that the count should penetrate into *Lombardy*, with a great army, by the way of *Auslandria*, while *Hawkwood* should maintain his ground in the *Raduan*; and that, both armies being joined, they should attack *Milan*. *Giovanni Ricci* and *Rainoldo Fantiacci* were at this time the *Florentine* deputies with the count, who met with great difficulties in his undertaking. *Galeazzo* had spared neither money nor pains to raise a party against his expedition at the court of *Rome*, and a mutiny in his army. The count, however, surmounting all opposition, began his march at the head of a very fine army, which soon passed the *Alps*, keeping the *Appennines* on the right hand, and the *Po* on the left. The *Florentine* deputies, during this march, which was undertaken to avoid the uncertain passages over the *Tesino*, the *Po*, and several other rivers, were at great pains to curb the natural impetuosity of the *French*, who were perpetually falling out amongst themselves, and undertaking dangerous but useless expeditions.

Hawk-
wood
master of
the Mila-
nese.

GALEAZZO, more terrified at the *French* than the *Florentines*, having provided for the defence of *Milan*, moved to *Pavia*, where he took up his head quarters, and sent the flower of his troops to oppose the *French*, and to garrison *Alessandria*. By this time *Hawkwood* became master of all the open country of the *Milanese*, which he laid under severe contributions; but being unprovided of engines, or artillery, it is probable that he took no strong places, and he was obliged

obliged to stop at the river *Adda*, which he could not pass. This was within sixteen miles of *Milan*.

GALEAZZO, being thus beset by the *French* and *Florentine* armies, was about to have abandoned *Pavia*, when he French, was encouraged to stand on the defensive by the prodigious thro' their heats of the season, it being then the middle of *July*, and the great imprudence of the *French*. For, after taking *Casfelati*, which is within six miles of *Alessandria*, they dismounted from their horses, which were almost rendered unserviceable by the intense heats, and advanced in a square battalia of foot against the city, which had an army for its garrison. The *Florentine* historian ^b justly observes, that this disposition would have been successful, had the *French* been to meet their enemies in the field; but the *Milanese* kept within their walls and entrenchments; and observing that the *French* had left their horses at a great distance behind them, they sallied out at a different gate from that which the *French* were to attack, and took the horses. This frantic conduct proved the utter ruin of the *French*. *Galeazzo* mounted his troops on horseback, and attacked them on all sides. Their valour proved of no service to them, as they could not pursue their enemies, who attacked and retired at pleasure; while the *French*, thro' their own weakness, occasioned by the heats of the weather and their fatigues, were unable to pursue. In short, scarcely a *Frenchman* escaped. Many of them were killed, more of them perished through heat and fatigue, and those who survived were made prisoners. Amongst the latter were the *Florentine* deputies. As to the count of *Armignac*, being disabled and made prisoner, he died in a few hours, rather from the anguish of his mind than the severity of his wound. *Arelin* says, that, by the public accounts of *Florence*, it appears that this expedition cost the *Florentines*, in a very few months, one million two hundred and sixty thousand ducats.

GALEAZZO, having gained so compleat and unexpected a victory, marched now against *Hawkwood*, who, not being certain of the truth, did no more than fall back to a little distance from the *Adda*, and encamped at *Paterno*, a village in the *Cremnese*. The *Milanese* advanced with all the confidence of a sure victory, while *Hawkwood* ordered his troops to lie in their camp upon the defensive. The *Milanese* imputed this caution to fear, and for four days insulted his camp; but *Hawkwood*, taking advantage of their security and want of discipline, at last gave them battle, and defeated them; a great number being killed in the field, and above

^b *ARETIN*, pag. 216.

His admirable retreat.

twelve hundred of their cavalry, with some of their chief officers, taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Milanese* were greatly superior to him in strength, and hung upon his rear in his retreat, till he came to the river *Oglio*, which was difficult to pass in sight of a superior army; but he surmounted even this difficulty, by the help of four hundred *English* archers he had under him, who passed the river, and covered the rest of the *Florentine* army, in passing it, under the discharge of their arrows. This retreat was, in those days, justly thought to be a master-piece of generalship; and *Hawkwood*, without any farther interruption, passed the *Mincio*.

His difficulties, however, were greatly increased when he came to the banks of the *Adige*, which the enemy had broken down, and thereby laid the adjacent country under water; but *Hawkwood* relieved his army, even in this dreadful situation. He marched through the shoal-waters, and came to a rising ground, where he pitched his tents; which leaving standing, to deceive the enemy, he marched forward to *Montagnana*, a friendly town, where he passed the *Adige* in boats. *Arctin* observes, that no general but *Hawkwood* could have performed such a retreat, which proved him to be the ablest commander of that age.

Expedition against Sienna.

THE prodigious losses and difficulties the *Florentines* had sustained, during this campaign, was far from abating their military ardour; for, during their expedition into *Lombardy*, they sent *Ludovico Campano*, with an army of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, amongst whom were twelve hundred *Genoese* cross-bowmen, against *Sienna*. They began their march towards the end of autumn, when the *Siennese*, who were perishing by famine, expected to get in their harvest. This induced the *Florentines* to prolong their march as much as possible, that they might render the neighbourhood of *Sienna* a desert; so inveterate was their hatred towards the *Siennese*. In the mean while, they took several places in that territory, and made many of the principal *Siennese* prisoners. But while they now thought themselves secure of subduing all their enemies, they received intelligence that the *French* had been totally defeated at *Alessandria*, and *Hawkwood* surrounded on the banks of the *Adda*, without a possibility of retreating. Those dismal accounts checked all the towering hopes of the *Florentines*, who imagined that *Galeazzo* was already in the heart of *Tuscany*. They recovered, however, from their consternation, when they heard that *Hawkwood* and his army were safe, and they sent him orders to march directly to *Tuscany*. While he was upon his march, *Galeazzo* sent *Vermi* of

Verona, at the head of his army, to the assistance of the *Siennese*, and he arrived at *Pisa* about the time that *Hawkwood* reached *Bologna*. The *Florentine* army which remained in the *Siennese* must have been destroyed, and *Florence* itself perhaps taken, had it not been for the courage and activity of the old *English* general, who, hearing of *Vermi's* expedition, immediately passed the mountains, marched to *Pistoia*, and from thence to *San Miniato*, in the neighbourhood of the *Milanese* army, and offered them battle. *Vermi* at that time declined it, and marched from *Pisa* to *Volterra*, and from thence to *Sienna*, both to cover that city and to join the *Siennese* troops, which were still in the field. This junction being effected, the whole of his army amounted to ten thousand horse and three thousand mercenary foot, besides a great body of *Pisan* and *Siennese* volunteers; and with this formidable force he entered the *Florentine* territory.

THE *Florentine* generals and officers, upon this, held a great council of war in *Boneti*. They had two generals, Sir *John Hawkwood* and *Luigi Campano*, who had commanded their army in *Tuscany*. Their troops, in point of discipline and courage, were equal if not superior to those of the enemy; but their numbers were far inferior. It was therefore resolved in a council of war to act upon the defensive, and in detached parties, and to keep their strong places always at their backs. This was a wise resolution. They knew their allies were on their march to join them, and that the *Siennese* territory could not long support their enemy. After many marches and countermarches on both sides, both armies encamped within two miles of each other on the banks of the *Tessino*. While they lay in this situation, the *Florentines* were joined by count *Barbani*, at the head of three thousand *Bolognese* horse and four hundred archers, and by several other auxiliary troops. This accession of strength, and the numbers daily flocking to them from *Arezzo*, and the neighbouring country, rendered the *Florentines* equal to their enemies, and both sides seemed to prepare in good earnest for a general engagement.

THIS, however, was only a feint on the part of the *Milanese*, who had already resolved upon a retreat, which they performed in the night towards *Vigolani*. Passing the mountains in the neighbourhood, they left troops to guard the passes in case of a pursuit, while the main body held on their march. The *Florentines* no sooner heard of their enemy's retreat, than their camp was in an uproar, from the eagerness of the soldiers for a pursuit, all of them calling out that not a man of the run-a-ways ought to be suffered to escape.

Nothing

Nothing but *Hawkwood's* great authority could have diverted them from this pernicious resolution. He strenuously insisted on their enemy's being suffered to retreat, and of the danger and folly of pursuing them through a country so fit for ambuscades. It was with the utmost difficulty his advice at last prevailed; and sending out parties to reconnoitre, it was discovered that part of the enemy was embarked on the banks of the *Novola*, and that part were still in possession of the mountains. *Hawkwood* immediately gave orders that the latter should be attacked, which, notwithstanding their strong situation, was performed with such vigour, that they were driven from the passes into the plain, with the loss of three hundred killed, and two hundred horsemen made prisoners, amongst whom were some officers of the highest distinction, particularly *Taddeo Vermi*, brother to the *Milanese* general; a great number of foot were made prisoners at the same time. This victory served only to render the *Florentines* more presumptuous; and descending from the hill, against the express command of *Hawkwood*, they attacked the rear of the enemy in the plain; but were repulsed with some loss, which rendered them a little more tractable.

A negotiation for peace.

AFTER this, the *Milanese* army proceeded on their march, and the *Florentines* took possession of the camp they left, greatly exulting at the cowardly flight, as they called it, of their enemies. The latter, however, far from flying, proceeded no farther than *Serezana*, in the *Lucchese*; and, turning short, they marched to *Cascino*, in the territory of *Pisa*, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped, and gave out that they were returned to fight the *Florentines*. The latter had thought themselves so secure, that their auxiliaries were on their march homewards, but were soon recalled. Many of them, however, did not return; so that both armies, after lying some weeks within sight of one another, departed, without fighting, into winter-quarters. During this campaign the *Florentines* besieged *Ranco*, a strong fortress in the *Arezzian* territory, belonging to *Saco's* family. But the place proving impregnable, both parties grew tired of the war and inclined to peace. Friends interposing for that purpose, *Genoa* was pitched upon for the place of negotiation; and the *Florentines* sent thither their plenipotentiaries, as *Galeazzo* and the pope, who was greatly for peace, did theirs. The chief difficulty regarded the captive prince of *Carrara*, whose deliverance his son *Francisco* insisted upon; as *Galeazzo* did upon the rendition of *Padua*. Some difficulties likewise occurred with regard to the *Sienese* exiles, who had taken refuge at *Florence*, and the town of *Liciano*. At last, after various

various altercations, the matter was referred to the arbitration of the pope's legate, and the doge of *Genoa*, and, by way of compliment, a deputy from the people of *Genoa*. Those referees having agreed upon their award, demanded who was to be guarantee of the peace. "The sword," briskly replied *Tomassi*, one of the *Florentine* deputies; *Galeazzo* and *Florence* now know each other's strength." This gallant speech was approved of by *Galeazzo's* party, and award was then pronounced to the following effect:

THAT the town of *Padua*, with all the places taken by *its terms*. *Francisco* prince of *Carrara*, should remain to him, upon his paying to *Galeazzo* fifty thousand ducats in five years time. Hopes were likewise given him, tho' nothing on that head was expressly stipulated, that *Galeazzo* would, of his own accord, restore the old prince to his liberty. All the places which the *Florentines* and the *Siennese* had taken from each other, were to be restored to their original owners, except *Liciano*, which was referred to a future negotiation; and the *Siennese*, as well as the *Paduan*, exiles were to be restored to their estates. It was likewise stipulated, that *Galeazzo's* army should not pass a certain boundary towards *Florence*, unless the *Siennese* or the *Perugians* should invite them as auxiliaries against the unjust attacks of the *Florentines*.

NOTHING in this treaty was so much found fault with as *Partiality* the money which was to be paid for *Padua*, and which the of the *Ge-Florentines*, it seems, were to advance. *Arctin*^a observes, no less that, during the whole negotiation, the *Genoese* discovered a visible partiality for *Galeazzo*; and even forced the grand master of *Rhodes*, who was the pope's legate, to yield some points in his favour. The *Florentines* in the main, however, were well satisfied with the terms.

THE war between *Milan* and *Florence* had, immediately or *Galeazzo* remotely, affected the tranquility of all *Italy*, and every state zo's *insin-* in it earnestly wished for not only the return but the conti- cerity, nuance of peace. For this reason it had been stipulated, in the late negotiation at *Genoa*, that, when the *Milanese* and *Florentine* armies were disbanded, effectual means should be pursued to prevent the soldiers from forming themselves into companies of banditti, or robbers; an evil which had often been fatal to the repose of *Italy*. This was^c proposed to be done by not disbanning the troops all at once, but gradually; and by the respective parties keeping in their service such leaders as were most capable of heading and conducting such bands. The *Florentine* historian^b tells us, that his countrymen and

^a Pag. 221.

^b ARETIN, *ibid.*

their allies were sincere in performing this engagement; but that *Galeazzo's* mercenaries formed themselves into a body, and demanded a passage through the *Bolognese* and the *Ferrarese*. The *Florentines*, who perhaps refined a little too much upon events, suspected that *Galeazzo* had connived at this demand, and sent some troops to the assistance of the *Bolognese*, who had refused to comply with it. Upon this, the companies marched through the *Parmesan* towards *Tuscany*, and advanced to the *Siennese*, their strength every day encreasing. They then began to harraßs and lay under contribution the inhabitants of *Tuscany*.

and in-
justice.

THE *Florentines* were extremely uneasy at those proceedings, especially as it now appeared that neither the *Siennese* nor *Galeazzo* were their cordial friends. The former took every opportunity to express their rancour against *Florence*, and the latter behaved in a manner that was equally mean and brutal. *Giovanni Ricci*, who had made the famous speech against *Galeazzo*, and one of the *Florentine* deputies who had attended the count *de Armignac*, had been made prisoner at *Alessandria*; and, after the peace of *Genoa*, *Galeazzo* not only raised his demand of four thousand florins for his ransom to thirty thousand, but put him in irons; and sent two of his courtiers to tell him, that though he deserved death, yet he would remit that punishment upon the payment of the money. This was a sum so impossible for *Ricci* to raise, that his punishment amounted to perpetual imprisonment. *Galeazzo*, at the same time, refused to restore the old prince of *Carrara* to his freedom, and omitted no means to make the young one uneasy in his possession of *Padua*, by entertaining and succouring the *Paduan* exiles.

The Flo-
rentines
renew
their
league.

SUCH a variety of suspicious circumstances put the *Florentines* upon their renewing their ancient league with their neighbouring states, which they did at *Bologna*. The parties who came into the confederacy were, besides the *Florentines* and the *Bolognese*, the *Paduans* and the *Ferrarese*; but a liberty was reserved for any other state to enter into the confederacy, which the *Mantuan*s soon after did. This confederacy is a fresh proof of the passion for liberty, which the *Italian* states cherished in those days, and the wise measures they pursued to preserve it. It however gave great umbrage to *Galeazzo*, who, in his turn, publicly complained that the *Florentines* never had been sincere in the peace they had concluded with him, and he accordingly made preparations for renewing the war with more vigour than ever; but, to gain time he named ambassadors previously to treat with the *Florentines*.

EVERY

EVERY page of the *Florentine* history produces instances of *Their* the glory attending the encouragement of commerce amongst *great* a free people. *Florence* had in a manner supported, on her *riches and* own shoulders, the liberty of *Tuscany*; and had just finished, *magnifi-* with honour, a most expensive and ruinous war with the *cence.* greatest prince in *Italy*. She had paid immense subsidies to the princes both of *Germany* and *France*, without being benefited by them, and irreproachably fulfilled all the engagements she had entered into: she was dreaded, hated, and envied by many of the neighbouring states, against whom she was obliged to keep armies on foot to guard against their surprizes; and yet she continued so immensely rich, that her citizens, at this time, outvied those of all *Europe*, in the splendor and elegance of their equipages, in their manner of living, in their buildings and public exhibitions. While they every day expected to re-enter into a bloody and expensive war with *Galeazzo*, they were celebrating tilts and tournaments, in honour of the birth of the *French* king's eldest son, with a magnificence that amazed all *Europe*. From the description their historian^c has given us of those diversions, it is plain that they were intended as an imitation of the *Trojan* games, so finely described by *Virgil*, and common amongst the *Romans*, who were the patterns of the *Florentine* policy, both in peace and war; but with this advantage in favour of the latter, that they were a commercial state.

AFTER this magnificent exhibition, *Galeazzo's* ambassadors *Negotia-* came to *Florence*, where, in a public audience, they highly *tion with* extolled their prince's good faith and good will towards the *Galeazzo,* *Florentines*, who answered them in terms equally polite and general. The ambassadors had expected that the *Florentines* would have entered upon the subject of their complaints against their master; but being disappointed, they told the *Florentines* plainly, that their instructions were to enter upon particulars on three heads: that of the banditti, of the behaviour of the *Siennese*, and the detention of the old prince of *Carrara* and *Ricci* in prison. As to the first, they pretended that their master had done all that was in his power to prevent such illegal associations. With regard to the second, he said, he was so far from encouraging the *Siennese*, that he had withdrawn his protection from them, to render them more tractable. With regard to the last head, they said, it was no just subject of complaint, as nothing had been stipulated by the peace of *Gensa*: that the misbehaviour of the young prince of *Carrara* was the reason of his father's de-

^c ARETIN, pag. 222.

tention; and that *Ricci* was the property of an officer, and whom *Galeazzo* could not force to deliver him up.

to whom
they send
deputies.

THE *Florentines* affected great surprize at this speech, and denied they had given authority to any one to say, that they had entertained any suspicions of *Galeazzo's* friendship. It appeared, however, afterwards, that the discovery had been made to him by the imprudence of a *Florentine* priest, who had been employed at his court. The *Florentines*, therefore, declined making any reply; and the ambassadors upbraided them with their having received the *Mantuan*, which lay, as it were, in the bosom of their master's dominions, into their confederacy. To this last charge the *Florentines* replied, that the *Mantuan*s were their ancient allies; and that, by admitting them into their league, they did no more than renew their former alliance with them; and that the whole of their confederacy was no other than defensive. As to the other parts of their commission, the *Florentines* informed them that they would send a satisfactory answer to *Galeazzo* by deputies of their own. Three accordingly were chosen, *Felippo Adimar*, *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and *Guido Tommasi*; but an incident happened at this time very alarming to the *Florentines*.

Death of
Gambacurta.

WE have, on several occasions, mentioned *Peter Gambacurta*, who had long the chief sway at *Pisa*, and, by all accounts, was one of the worthiest men in his time. He had a secretary, *Giacomo di Appiano*, who had served him so long that he was let into all his affairs and secrets; and being employed and trusted by his master in his most important concerns, he privately formed a faction against *Gambacurta* in favour of *Galeazzo*, who supported him. In the late war *Appiano* had sent his son *Vannes* to serve under *Galeazzo*; and the youth being taken prisoner, *Galeazzo* valued him so much, that he exchanged *Ricci* for him. On the return of *Vannes* to *Pisa*, their party openly declared themselves; and though *Gambacurta* was often forewarned of his fate, *Appiano* found means to put him to death, and to seize upon the government^a. This resolution, so unfavourable for the *Florentines*, happened on the second of October, 1392, according to the *Sienese* annals, and retarded the departure of the *Florentine* deputies. It was now plain, that the whole had been schemed and effected by *Galeazzo*, whose partizan *Appiano* professed himself to be. At last the deputies departed, and two or three years passed in a state of neither war nor peace between *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines*; each was civil to the

^a Annali Senesi apud MURATORI, tom. xix. ad ann. 1392.

other, and each endeavoured to betray and outwit one another. We shall, therefore, lay hold of this interval to mention some particulars, which, though of importance to history, cannot properly be interwoven with the narrative of wars or civil transactions.

THE historian *Leonard of Arezzo*, whom we have all along mentioned by the name of *Arezzo*, informs us ^b, that he was at this time a young man studying the civil law, and therefore we may look upon him in some sense as a cotemporary author. From him we learn, that the *Italians*, and the *Florentines* in particular, had, for some time, laid aside the use of arms, from the great conveniency they found in hiring and employing foreign troops, and that those foreigners were all of them cavalry. We mention this circumstance to account for the extraordinary exceeding of the cavalry over the infantry in all the *Italian* armies, which the reader meets with in almost every page of this history. He tells us, however, that at this time the practice of hiring foreign horsemen was entirely disused in *Italy*, and the *Italian* cavalry was every where preferred to the foreign. There might, notwithstanding, be a reason for this, which *Arezzo* does not mention; we mean the other wars in which the other princes of *Europe* were now involved, by which they found employment in their own armies for all their men. This sudden change of character seems to have affected the common people of *Tuscany* in a most extraordinary manner. According to *Arezzo*, nothing was to be seen all over the towns but long solemn processions of the inhabitants dressed in white. All were wrapt up in the fervours of devotion. All animosities between one place and another were now forgot. Two full months were spent in those mutual peregrinations from town to town. They who before had been sworn enemies, now embraced each other as friends. All gates flew open, and all places were accessible at the approach of the white robed processions. Love and friendship seemed to possess every breast, and a universal chorus was peace and pity. They who were the most forward in deriding the accounts of those extraordinary appearances, no sooner saw them than they seemed to be smitten with the contagion, and were the foremost in putting on white garments (A). The *Florentines* shared deep

in

^b Vide LEONARDI ARETINI rerum suo tempore in Italia gestarum commentarius.

(A) In the printed copies of *Arezzo's* commentary notice is taken of a remarkable different reading on this occasion. Some read—

in the common infection; and no fewer than four processions went out of their city, which was thereby left uninhabited. At last the contagion spread all over *Italy*; and, according to *Aretin*, no certain account could be given of its rise.

The Florentines
the revivers of
learning.

THE revival of *Greek* learning at this period, after lying dead in *Italy*, according to *Aretin*, seven hundred years, does honour to the *Florentine* name. The emperor of *Constantinople* had come to *Italy*, to solicit assistance against the *Turks*, and had in his train a noble *Byzantine* called *Chrysoloras*, renowned for his knowledge of *Greek* learning. The *Florentines*, by a solemn deputation, invited this illustrious scholar to their city, where he was received with all the honours due to his rank and merit, and a salary was allowed him for opening a school for *Greek* lectures. Thus, to the immortal credit of the *Florentines*, *Europe* owes that invaluable acquisition to them. *Aretin* preferred the lectures of *Chrysoloras* to those of his *Yaw* masters, and has given us a particular list of his noble school fellows. *Chrysoloras* kept his school open for above two years; but was obliged to attend his master at *Milan*, being upon his return to *Constantinople*. While we are upon this subject, it is but justice to *Florence*, and the memory of *Aretin*, who was a subject of *Florence*, to mention that he may be considered as the great reviver of classical *Latin* in *Europe*, and that no writer since that time has exceeded his style in purity and precision; nor were his countrymen ungrateful to his merit, for they raised him to the greatest employments in their state.

Death and
character
of Hawk-
wood.

A. D.
1394.

THE *Florentines*, during the cessation of their war with *Galcazzo*, admitted into the confederacy, of which they were the head, the inhabitants of *Rimini*, *Favenza*, *Ravenna*, *Imola*, and *Citta di Castello*. This enlargement of the confederacy was the more necessary, as the banditti, privately encouraged by *Galcazzo*, grew daily more and more formidable. But the *Florentines*, at this time, received an irreparable blow by the death of the great Sir *John Hawkwood*, which happened in the year 1394. All the *Italian* warriors of this age, of whatever country or faction they were, agree, that he was, at the time of his death, incomparably the greatest general in *Italy*, if not in *Europe*. He married the natural daughter of *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, by whom he is said to

reading it *Et quasi Deo correpti*, which signifies as if they had, as if they had been seized by God. Other copies read it, *Et quasi æstro, ut dicitur, correpti*, which signifies as if they had been seized by what we may call a fit of madness.

have

have received in portion a million of florins*. Notwithstanding his foreign services, he never forgot that he was an *Englishman*; and it was through his means that the marriage between Galeazzo's daughter and prince Lionel of England took place. Historians observe, that though *Hawkwood* died in extreme old age, it did not at all abate the vigour of his youth; for he shewed greater spirit, as well as generalship, in his last campaign, than he had done in any of his preceding. We cannot take leave of this great man without one observation, which is, that though he served various states, and in different interests, yet no imputation lies on his memory of being either mercenary or ungrateful; so that his conduct is as unapproachable as a man, as it was great as a hero (B). After being the scourge he became the saviour of the *Florentine* liberty; and after his death he was, at the public expence, honoured with a noble funeral, and a magnificent monument.

AFTER the banishment of *Alberti*, factions prevailed in *Florence*, and many of his friends and party were either exiled, admonished, or put to death, by what *Machiavel*^b calls the *Balia*, which was an extraordinary power delegated, upon certain occasions, to the lords, the colleges, the eight, the captains of the wards, and the syndics of the trades^c. *Maso Albizi* was an enemy to the house of *Alberti*, on account of the death of *Pietro Albizi*; and being gonfalonier of justice, he procured *Alberto* and *Andrea Alberti*, to be accused of holding a correspondence with the enemies of the state. This brought on a fresh prosecution of the *Alberti* party, in which such numbers of the lower ranks of the people were either admonished or put to death, that the multitude took arms. Part of them ran to the great square, where the magistrates were assembled, and forced them to give them for their leaders *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and *Donato Acciaiuoli*, with the ensigns

Civil factions in Florence.

* Vide PAUL JUVIUS in Barnaba, pag. 159, and BARNES's Life of Edward III. pag. 718. ^b Vide MACHIAVEL's History of Florence, book iii. ^c Id. ibid.

(B) He had a son named *Johannes, filius Johannis Hawkwood, milis, natus in partibus Italie factus indigena, ann. 8. Hen. IV. mater ejus nata in partibus transmarinis*.

(1) In Bib. Cot. & in Arch. Turris Lond. i. Pars Pat. An. 8. Hen. IV. m. 20.

of the *Guelphs* and the people in their hands. Others ran to the house of *Veri di Medici* (C), and besought him to take upon him the government of the state, which he nobly refused; but told the people at the same time he would do them all the service he could. He accordingly repaired to the palace of the presidents, whom, after clearing himself of all ambitious views, he exhorted to moderation. The magistrates, on their part, made so many fair professions, that *Veri*, upon his return to the people, persuaded them to lay down their arms. This gave rise to the magistrates to arm two thousand citizens, who they knew would stand by them; and they proceeded with the utmost severity against the late insurgents, many of whom they put to death, and admonished others. They were opposed by *Donato Acciaiuoli*, who, being too precipitate in pushing for the recall of the exiles, was convicted of practices against the state, and confined in prison. Many of the family of *Medici*, and their friends, were banished at the same time. The chief exiles, most of whom were sprightly young men, retired to *Bologna*; but we are now to attend the military affairs of *Florence*, which *Machiavel* has scarcely mentioned.

*Affairs of
Ferrara.*

UPON the death of *Alberto*, prince of *Ferrara*, whose son *Nicholas* at that time was very young, *Azzo*, who was nearly related to the family, was obliged by the tutors of the young prince to abandon *Ferrara*, and, after spending some time at *Venice* he came to *Florence*, where he made a splendid appearance. Leaving *Florence* at the head of some followers, and being privately supported by *Galeazzo*, he marched to the *Romagna*, where his party grew so strong, that *Nicholas* was in danger of being deposed. The *Florentines* mediated between them; but finding *Azzo* intractable, they declared themselves guardians to *Nicholas*. *Azzo* was backed by the inhabitants of *Ravenna* and *Forli*, and above all by count *Barbiansi*, and continued to be underhand assisted by *Galeazzo*. Upon this the *Florentines*, perceiving a war was unavoidable, raised an army, but before it could take the field, *Broglia* and *Brandolino*, at the head of some of the banditti in *Azzo's* pay, surprised the castle of *Gargonza* near *Arezzo*. This obliged the *Florentines* to divide their army. One part of it was detached to recover *Gargonza*, and another under a foreign count called *Conrad* was sent into the *Ferrarese*, and

(C) *Aretin* is silent as to the authority at this period is noble behaviour of *Veri* on this questionable, has mentioned it. occasion; but *Machiavel*, whose

twelve field deputies, (an office which had lain dormant ever since the last peace) were appointed to attend their army. The *Bolognese* had some connections with *Azzo*, which kept them neutral in this dispute.

WHILE those great preparations were in dependence, am-^{The Flo-} bassadors came from the emperor *Winceslaus*, son of the em-^{perors} peror *Charles IV.* offering the *Florentines* his assistance against *Galeazzo*, and to march in person into *Italy* for that purpose: ^{jealous of} Some of the *Florentine* allies, such as the *Paduans* and *Man-*^{the em-} *tuans*, were eager for embracing the proposal; but the *Flo-* *rentines*, ever true to the maxims of independency, were shy of giving an emperor of *Germany* any footing in *Italy*. They therefore prevailed with their allies to decline the emperor's offer, under the pretext that they were then negotiating a peace with the *Milanese*, and that if it should not succeed, they would accept of his generous assistance. In the mean time they entered into a negotiation with the *French* king, as being the less dangerous ally, in order to secure their independency against *Galeazzo*.

WE now arrive at the year 1395, when the *Ferrarese* and the *Alexzian* wars were still continued by the *Florentines*, and both of them underhand fed and supported by *Galeazzo*. But all of a sudden he recalled the troops serving in the *Arezzian* territories, and very politically prevailed with those who had surprised *Gargonza* to render it back to the *Florentines*. As to the *Ferrarese* war, *Aretin* informs us of an extraordinary incident, which, was it not attested by so great an authority as his is, we should not have inserted. He tells, that count *Barbiani*, the great protector and support of *Azzo*, the pretender to the dukedom of *Ferrara*, was prevailed upon by the promise of a vast sum of money, and the surrender of two or three important places, to murder *Azzo*. But it seems he dressed up a person, who nearly resembled *Azzo*, in his cloaths; and having killed him, he received the reward. Soon after the real *Azzo* appeared to the great merriment of the public. This foul attempt upon *Azzo's* life did some service to his cause; but *Astorgi* of *Fuenza* joining the *Florentines* against him, count *Conrad*, the *Florentine* general, took him prisoner, and he was confined at *Faenza*.

A. D. 1395.

AZZO being no longer dreaded, the *Florentines*, who had been greatly provoked by the insolence of *Barbiani*, besieged him in one of his own castles. But the prosperous state of the *Florentine* affairs had, by this time, excited the jealousy of their allies. The inhabitants of *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imola*, openly threatened to renounce their alliance, if they proceeded to farther conquests in their neighbourhood, or to as-

sist either *Astorgi* or *Nicholas* of *Ferrara*. The siege of *Lucca*, however, a place belonging to *Barbiansi*, still went on, when *Alberico Barbiansi*, his relation, and *Galeazzo's* general, undertook to relieve the place. *Galeazzo* made a polite apology to the *Florentines* for his general's conduct, and they procured the siege to be discontinued. They, however, laid siege to *Castrocari*, a town which had belonged to the *Roman* see, and had been sold to the *Florentines* by the pope's general (a traffic not uncommon in those days) but treacherously detained by him after receiving the money. The *Bolognese* again interposed, as did the inhabitants of *Forli*, and indeed all the *Romagna* and the neighbouring states, where the *Florentines* had now no friends but *Astorgi* of *Faenza*. The *Erasmian* historian himself seems to give up the *Florentines* on this occasion, and to condemn their undertaking the siege of *Castrocari*, which made all the states of *Italy*, even the *Venetians*, their enemies. At last, by friendly interpositions, matters were compromised and left to the arbitration of *Francisco* of *Carrara*.

They support *Lucca*.

IN the mean while *Appiano*, who was now the governing man in *Pisa*, attempted to reduce *Lucca* to his obedience; upon which the *Florentines* sent a body of troops to *Peslita*, which is but ten miles from *Lucca*, and a deputy to the *Lucquese*, to exhort them to maintain their independency. The *Lucquese*, sensible of this generous interposition, admitted the *Florentine* troops into their city, and drove the besiegers from their works; upon which the friendship was renewed between the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese*, and the *Pisans* were detested by both.

Commo-
tions in
Florence.

ACCIAIVOLI, a noble *Florentine*, after various revolutions of power in that city, was now at its head. He had long concurred in the general maxims of the state; but all of a sudden he favoured the exiles and the admonished, and joined with *Angelo*, the gonfalonier's son, in a project to restore and recapitate them to enjoy public honours. Their schemes being made known to the magistrates, all of them as one man joined to defeat them; and *Acciaivoli*, with his accomplices, were sent into exile. This amazing reverse of fortune, with regard to a man who, but a few days before, was little less than sovereign of the *Florentine* state, is a strong proof how tenacious the *Florentines* were then of their liberties. Their severity was the more remarkable, as *Acciaivoli* was a citizen of irreproachable morals, both in public and private life; and no charge was brought against him but

the great credit he had in the state, which his fellow-citizens thought incompatible with the name of a free government. Along with him were banished many other popular citizens, both noble and ignoble, so that at least one half of the *Florentine* people were at this time deemed exiles.

THIS year Galeazzo obtained from the emperor of *Germ.* Milan many, who pretended to be lord paramount of *Milan*, the erected into title of duke, having before that time been designed only a *dutchy*.

count of *Virtue*, which was his patrimonial inheritance. He formally signified to the *Florentines* his new accessions of honours, and they in complaisance celebrated festivities upon it.

But those appearances of joy were checked in the beginning of the year 1396, when the *Scals* and the *banditti* invaded the *Alezian* territory with fire and sword. They were soon joined by *Barbiansi*, the sworn enemy of the *Florentines*, with a great force. The *Florentines* knew that *Barbiansi's* troops were mercenaries, and wisely resolved to deal with them as such.

They offered money to their two leaders, *Cantelli* and *Filippo* of *Pisa*, and thereby prevailed with them to leave *Barbiansi's* service, and to enter into theirs. We are not authorized upon the face of history to say what the secret views of the *Florentine* government were at this time; but it is certain that the *Italian* states thought them to be dangerous.

The generals and troops that the *Florentines* bought off from *Barbiansi*, to the number of fifteen hundred horse, joined their army, which was in *Modena*, under *Bartolomeo* of *Prato* and *Antonio Obizi*, and made excursions upon the inhabitants of *Reggio* and *Parma*, by which all *Barbiansi's* schemes fell to the ground. Galeazzo complained bitterly of those disorders.

The *Florentines* answered, that *Cantelli's* men (for *Pietro* of *Pisa* had been detained by *Barbiansi*) were not in the service of *Florence*, they having received only as it were a retaining fee, in case their services should be required; a practice they had learned from Galeazzo himself. This apology, however, seems to be very evasive, it being notorious that they were in the *Florentine* pay; for after re-establishing *Nicholas* of *Ferrara* in his government, they marched to *Tuscany*, where they were employed by the *Lucques* against the *Pisans* of *Appiano's* party, whom the *Florentines* secretly hated. *Appiano* upon this applied to *Barbiansi*, who marched with his remaining forces to his assistance; upon which the *Florentine* mercenaries retired to *Lucca*, and the rest of the season was spent in mutual skirmishes of no great importance.

MEAN while, the *Florentine* deputies at *Milan* sent advice Galeazzo of a large body of troops, who were marching under the counts of *Alberigo* and *Malestina*, by Galeazzo's order, to the *Pisans*.

Views of the *Florentines*.

assistance

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assistance

assistance

assistance of the *Pisans*. The *Florentines*, affecting great moderation, not knowing where the storm might fall, mediated a peace, which with some difficulty they at last effected, and *Tuscany* was evacuated of all those mercenaries. *Barbani* marched into *Lombardy*, where he harassed the *Ferrarese* and the *Mantuan*. The *Florentines* understanding that in this he was instigated by *Galeazzo*, protected and encouraged the *Pisan* exiles against *Appiano*. Thus, matters for some time stood neither in a state of peace nor war, till *Appiano* at last persuaded *Galeazzo* to enter upon hostilities, and to order all his troops and generals to rendezvous at *Pisa*, which they did in such numbers as struck terror into *Florence*.

Prepara-
tions of the
Floren-
tines.

NOTWITHSTANDING this the *Florentine* magistrates be-
haved with great intrepidity. They now openly took *Bartho-
lomew* of *Prato* into their pay, and gave the chief command
of their troops to *Bernard*, a *French* nobleman of great repu-
tation, who brought along with him six hundred choice horse
and two hundred foot, which were quartered about *St. Mi-
niato* and *Fucetti*: they likewise applied to the *Bolognese*, and
their other allies; tho' the assistance received from them was
but slow and insignificant. The first storm of war fell upon
the *Lucquese*, who were succoured by *Bernard*. *Appiano* laid
hold of this opportunity to attempt to surprize *St. Miniato*,
a strong place, and of the last importance to *Florence*. For
this purpose he tampered with *Benedetto Marigliadori*, one of
the chief inhabitants of the town, who entered it by twilight,
with no more than seventeen accomplices, and killed the first
president, expecting, as he had concerted with *Appiano*, to
be supported by a strong detachment from *Pisa*. This de-
tachment happened, by mere accident, to fall in with a
party of *Florentine* troops; and, imagining the whole con-
spiracy to be discovered, it returned to *Pisa*. The town-
men of *St. Miniato*, perceiving the conspirators were not sup-
ported, took arms and drove them out of the place; and
the *Florentines*, who, on the first account they received,
thought that their liberties were ruined, took care to guard
against future surprizes. This disappointment served but the
more to exasperate *Galeazzo* and his generals, whose troops
now rendezvoused at *Sienna* in such numbers, that the *Flo-
rentine* army, unable to keep the field, were obliged to take
shelter in their fortified places.

Their dan-
ger.

It was generally thought at *Florence*, that the first opera-
tions of the enemy would be against *Arezzo*, which is at the
same distance as *Florence* is from *Sienna*; but, contrary to ex-
pectation, they directed their march against *Florence* itself,
their force being ten thousand cavalry, and a proportionable
number

number of infantry. As no war had been formally declared, the country people not being upon their guard, were in a most miserable situation, being pursued half naked into *Florence*, and the neighbouring towns, by the enemy, who proceeded, wherever they came, with fire and sword, so that the whole country about *Florence* was in a blaze. The *Florentines*, perceiving their danger, ordered *Bernard* and their army to draw near their city, whilst, happily for them, their enemies undertook the siege of *Segni*, a strong town near *Florence*. Not being able to take it, their generals began to differ amongst themselves, and their army to move away; so that the whole expedition returned to *Sienna*.

A. D.
1397.

FLORENCE being thus delivered from one of the greatest dangers that had ever threatened her, was in danger of being ruined by the rigorous discipline of her general. *Galeazzo* was at this time entirely intent upon reducing *Mantua*, which he besieged by land and water; and dissensions increasing amongst his generals, *Paolo Ursini* and *Biardi*, with several other general officers, entered with their troops into the service of the *Florentines*. As most of them were soldiers of fortune, the subjects of *Florence* sometimes suffered equally from them as from their enemies. *Bartholomew* of *Prato* was next in command to *Bernard* in the *Florentine* army; but not *Bartholomew* brooking the other's superiority, he plundered some magazines which the general had erected for the use of his army; *Prato* put upon which *Bernard* put him to death. This punishment inflicted on a general officer, who, in his military capacity, was esteemed to be equal if not superior to *Bernard* himself, highly disgusted the *Florentine* auxiliaries and mercenaries. *Paolo Ursini* and *Felippo* of *Pisa*, who was now in the *Florentine* service, separated from *Bernard*; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the field-deputies kept the rest of the army together; but they acted with so much prudence and resolution, that their country suffered but little in the end, by the example of justice that had been made.

THIS was the more wonderful, as the enemy was still very powerful in *Tuscany* and *Mantua*, a state in alliance with *Florentines*. Count *Alberigo* commanded the *Pisan* army at *Sienna*; and a great body of the *Pisan* troops were encamped about *Mantua*: *Policiano* and *Cortona*. Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers that then surrounded the *Florentines*, they resolved to succour *Mantua*, and for that purpose gave the command of a body of troops to count *Hugues de Montfort*, who was soon superseded in his command by *Carlo Malatesta*, a much abler general. All this while the war was carried very briskly on in *Tuscany*, but generally to the advantage of the

Conspiracy
in Flo-
rence;

the *Florentines*; whose incursions reached to the very gates of *Spenna* and *Pisa*.

THE more glorious the conduct of the *Florentines* was abroad, the greater was their danger at home. *Maso de Albizi*, ever since the banishment of *Acciaiuoli*, had held the chief sway in *Florence*, where he was hated by a great part of the citizens: The chief of the exiles resided at this time at *Bologna*, and they held a private correspondence with *Pigiello* and *Baronio Cavicciulli**, two citizens who lived admonished and sequestered from the government of *Florence*. Those two persons invited six young noblemen of great quality, and two citizens of meagre degree, to return secretly to the city, and to begin an insurrection in favour of the exiled citizens, by assassinating *Albizi*. The names of the conspirators were *Pachio Cavicciulli*, *Thomas de Ricci*, *Antonio de Medici*, *Benedetto Spini*, *Antonio Girclami*, and *Cristoforo Carlone*. Those thoughtless young noblemen met with the fate their rashness merited. Being admitted into the city, one of their spies watched *Albizi*'s house; and upon his coming abroad they ran to kill him, but either casually or advisedly he slipped into an apothecary's shop, and escaped the danger. This disappointment did not daunt the conspirators. Flourishing their swords they called out "Liberty and destruction to the tyrants," and killed two persons of the opposite party. This proceeding struck the citizens with horror, so that not a man joined the conspirators, who retired to the church of *St. Reparata*, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. The church doors, however, were broken open, and the conspirators either killed or seized, and after trial put to death.

discovered
and pun-
ished.

Another
conspiracy.

MACHIAVEL informs us, that when this insurrection was suppressed, *Florence* escaped another conspiracy, formed by *Galeazzo* against her liberty. His plot was to introduce a company of resolute banditti into the city, where they were to be admitted by accomplices of their own party, and to murder all the magistrates and ministers of state. One *Sammiato* was *Galeazzo*'s chief agent in this conspiracy, which he opened to *Silvester Cavicciulli*, who discovered the whole to the magistrates. *Sammiato* was taken, and being put to the rack disclosed all the particulars; but only he and another conspirator *Davisi* were put to death. Though it is probable that this conspiracy was more imaginary than real, yet a *Balia*, or court of enquiry, was immediately erected for punishing all concerned in it, and they proceeded with such rigour,

* *MACHIAVEL*, book iii. *ARETIN*, pag. 233.

that,

that, besides a great number of mechanics, six of the family of Ricci, six of the *Alberti*, two of the *Medici*, three of the *Scali*, two of the *Strozzi*, together with *Bindi Altoviti*, and *Bernardo Admiari*, were found guilty, and the families of *Alberti Ricci* and *Medici*, were admonished for ten years. Not contented with this, they condemned *Antonio Alberti*, the one of the most harmless men in *Florence*, to the payment of a large fine, and to be banished three hundred miles distance from the city; and they afterwards banished all the descendants of the *Alberti* family who were above fifteen years of age.

DURING those domestic convulsions, the *Florentines* were *The Flo-* making a great figure in *Lombardy*, where their general *rentines* *Carlo Malatesta* raised the siege of *Mantua*, with the entire defeat of *Galeazzo's* army. His camp was taken, as were *leazzo*; about two thousand of his cavalry, and about one hundred and twenty small shipping, which had been employed in the siege. *Galeazzo* upon this sent orders for count *Aiberigo* to leave *Tuscany*, and to march to his assistance. His departure left the *Florentines* at liberty to revenge themselves to the full upon the *Pisans* and the *Siennese*, for the dreadful calamities they had lately inflicted on their state. Their successes in *Tuscany*, however, were somewhat abated by the unfavourable turn their affairs took in *Lombardy*, where their troops had neglected to pursue the great advantage they had obtained over *Galeazzo*. This remissness, together with many of them leaving the service, gave the latter an opportunity of recovering all his shipping, and of shutting up the few *Florentines* that remained within their entrenchments. To complete the misfortunes of the *Florentines*, their general *Malatesta* was absent at this time, and their allies were extremely backward in assisting them, because the pope and the *Venetians* had undertaken to mediate a peace at *Imola*. but lose their advantages.

THOUGH *Aiberigo* had left *Lombardy*, yet a body of *Mila- Revolution* *nese* troops still remained at *Pisa*. Their behaviour was so *at Pisa*. insupportable to the inhabitants, that a formal battle ensued, in which most of the soldiers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and they who escaped were forced to fly out of the city. Amongst the wounded was *Paolo Savelli* their general; and amongst the prisoners were several officers of great rank. The townsmen made themselves masters of all the arms, horses, and baggage that had belonged to the soldiers, who, as they gave out, intended to seize upon and plunder their city. This event gave vast pleasure to the *Florentines*, who immediately sent a deputation with offers of assistance and support to the *Pisans*, whom they congratulated upon their recovered liberty. The deputies were received with great civility; but the ad-
dres

Plans of Galeazzo frustrated their scheme. He laid the blame of what had happened entirely upon the rapaciousness and imprudence of his own soldiers, and highly commended the *Pisans* for what they had done. By this means, and by the management of *Appiano*, still the implacable enemy of the *Florentines*, the war between the two states was renewed; and the *Florentines* plundering all the tract of coast between *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, returned to *Florence* loaded with plunder.

A negotia-
tion for
peace.

His negotiation for peace still went on at *Imola*; but Galeazzo, having now recovered his affairs, insisted upon such unreasonable terms, as gave umbrage to the *Venetians*, who had for some time been jealous of his power. He was still carrying on the siege of *Castellina*; but the *Venetians* now sent a formal embassy, requiring him to raise it, or to respect them for his enemies. This denunciation so greatly alarmed Galeazzo, that he began to treat of peace in good earnest, and the conferences were removed to *Pavia*. This negotiation did not, however, slacken the preparations of the *Florentines* for war; for while the negotiations were depending, they sent deputies to hire troops both in *France* and *Germany*.

A. D.
1398.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1398, *Biordi*, a soldier of fortune, who had by turns served Galeazzo and the *Florentines*, was killed by a private inhabitant of *Perugia*, where he had for some time domineered. The townsmen, however, did not approve of the manner of his death, which *Biordi's* friends and followers revenged upon the murderer's family, he himself escaping. The *Florentines* offered the *Perugians* a body of troops for their protection, which was accepted of; but soon after the family of the *Ubertini*, and several noblemen of great interest in *Tuscany*, declared for Galeazzo, and put themselves and their possessions under his protection. This defection alarmed the *Florentines* the more, as he had found means to surprise *Civitella*, a strong castle in the neighbourhood of *Arezzo*. All those events seemed to indicate a continuance of the war; but the *Florentines*, being now joined by the *Venetians*, were encouraged to hope for assistance from several powerful princes, both in *France* and *Italy*. In the mean while they regained possession of *Civitella*; and it was agreed between them and Galeazzo, that as it was next to impossible for them to settle the terms of a definitive peace, that they should conclude a truce for ten years. This measure being determined upon, the *Florentines* countermanded the troops that were preparing to march to their assistance; but that was far from restoring the tranquility of *Tuscany*. Galeazzo, and the enemies of the *Florentines*, soon perceived that all the view of the *Venetians*

A truce
concluded.

was to keep the war out of *Lombardy*, and that the *Florentines* were to expect no assistance from them in *Tuscany*. The troops, therefore, who had been dismissed by *Galeazzo*, by his connivance broke into *Tuscany*, and took quarters in the *Siennese*, while the *Ubertini*, and the other noblemen in the *Casentin*, finding that they were surrounded by the *Florentines*, fortresses and territories, took arms to open themselves a free egress and regress to and from their estates, which were refused them by the *Florentines*.

By this time *Appiano* of *Pisa*, and his eldest son *Vannes*, *Revolution* being dead, his second son *Gerardo* succeeded to his power, at *Pisa*. Pretending to be well affected towards the *Florentines*, and jealous of *Galeazzo*, he sent *Grossolini*, one of his friends, privately to *Florence*, to confer with some of the chief men there about entering into a league with them. The terms he demanded was, that the *Florentines* should, at their own expence, furnish him with and pay six hundred horse and two hundred foot; but the *Florentines*, thinking the demand mercenary and dishonourable, rejected it, tho' they offered to become the hearty allies of the *Pisans* upon an equal honourable footing.

In the year 1399 the war again raged in *Tuscany*, and *Galeazzo's* party in *Pisa* coming to the knowledge of the late negotiation with the *Florentines*, prevailed with *Gerrado*, who was unequal to the post he held, partly by force and partly by persuasions, to resign to him the government of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* considered this acquisition as a threatening blow to the independency of their state, and the rather, as he made no secret that he would likewise soon render himself master both of *Sienna* and *Perugia*. As to the *Siennese*, they had been long his allies, but never his subjects; and they still retained an appearance of independency. The *Perugians* were in a worse situation. The pope claimed the sovereignty of their state, as having been formerly annexed to the see of *Rome*, and gave his general orders to reduce it. The *Perugians* upon this applied for protection to the *Florentines*, who, unwilling to embroil themselves with his hostilities, declined being concerned in the affair. The *Perugians*, who mortally hated all subjection to the pope, were then forced to apply for protection to *Galeazzo*, which he readily granted them, before the *Florentines*, by the persuasion of some of their best patriots, could repair the false step they had made when they rejected the offers of the *Perugians*. The consequence of those great acquisitions made by *Galeazzo*, was, that the *Bolognese* renounced their league with *Florence*, and entered into his alliance, and the *Siennese* submitted to him. Thus he became more powerful than ever in *Tuscany*, without giving the *Florentines* any handle for complaining that he had violated the truce.

A. D.
1399.
State of
Tuscany.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the Distresses of the Florentines. Their Country ravaged by a Plague. A Conspiracy discovered. Revolutions in the Empire. The Florentines invite the Emperor into Italy. His Arrival there. He disagrees with the Florentines, and returns to Germany. The Duke of Milan complains of the Florentines. War in the Bolognese. Death of Galeazzo. The Adventures of Aretin the Historian. Conquest of Pisa by the Florentines. Revolutions in the Papedom. The Council of Constance is held. An Account of Braccio the Perugian. War between the Florentines and the Milanese. Peace concluded. The Emperor Sigismund arrives in Italy; returns, and dies. Distresses of the Florentines. A general Council held at Ferrara. The Duke of Savoy chosen Pope. Tuscany invaded by Nicholas of Picino, who is conquered in the Year 1440.

Danger of the Florentines.

THE year 1400 opened with a very gloomy prospect to the Florentines, through the growing power of Galeazzo, on the one hand, and that of the Ubertini and the Casantini lords on the other. To add to their distresses, Uguccio, who was then the leading man or lord of Cortona, seemed disposed to favour Galeazzo, by prohibiting provisions or goods of any kind to be carried through his dominions to Florence, unless the Florentines would grant him most unreasonable terms. To oblige them to comply, he prevailed with some of the Arezzians to surprise Montagnana, a strong place, extremely convenient for either party, when at war with the other. This act of hostility brought on others from the Florentines. They sent one of their generals, with a party of horse, to open the passages of the lakes and rivers that Uguccio had dammed up, which was done without any opposition from him. In the mean while, Galeazzo sent four hundred horse into the Casantini, to act as an opportunity should present, and fostered a war between the Bolognese and Astorgi of Faenza.

A terrible pestilence.

DURING those commotions, so terrible a pestilence broke out at Florence, that it threatened to depopulate the city. It swept off equally the old and young of both sexes; nor was there any avoiding it, but by flight. All the principal inhabitants

bitants retired to the *Bolognese*; and of those whose circumstances did not permit them to fly, no fewer than thirty thousand died in a few weeks. This pestilence ceasing in other places of *Italy*, as well as *Florence*, the war raged with more violence than ever. *Paolo Guinigi* seized the government of *Lucca*. *Uguccio* lord of *Cortona*, and *Robert* count of *Papio*, one of the *Casentin* lords, died. Both of them had been enemies to *Florence*; but the latter, upon his death-bed, had made the *Florentines* the guardians of his infant son, who was accordingly bred up at *Florence*. *Francisco de Casca* had succeeded his kinsman *Uguccio* in the government of *Cortona*, and seemed better inclined towards the *Florentines* than his predecessor had been. *Guinigi*, the lord of *Lucca*, affected a neutrality; but being tampered with by *Galeazzo*, he civilly declined entering into a league with the *Florentines*.

THE late pestilence had given the dissatisfied *Florentines* an opportunity of caballing against the government; and a party of them, who had fled to the *Bolognese*, had entered into a conspiracy for murdering the magistrates, and placing themselves in their seats; and, in short, for altering the whole system of the civil government. The conspiracy was discovered by *Silvestro Adimari*, who had been solicited to enter into it by *Ricci*, one of the faction, and who disclosing the whole to the government, they seized and put to death the ringleaders of the conspiracy, and sentenced to banishment many of their confederates, who had not yet returned to *Florence*.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Giovanni Bentivoglio* seized upon the government of *Bologna*. This was an event of so great importance to the *Florentines*, that they sent an extraordinary deputation, composed of the ablest and greatest men of their state, to congratulate him upon his accession to that government, and to offer him the friendship and assistance of *Florence*. *Galeazzo* was not behind them in the same professions; and his deputies seemed to vie with those of *Florence* in courting *Bentivoglio's* friendship; but he leaned towards the former. The affairs of *Italy* were now about to assume a new face.

THE emperor *Charles IV.* was succeeded in the empire by his son *Wenceslaus*, whose wicked disposition was heightened by an insanity of mind, contracted through intemperance; and, after various revolutions of fortune, he was deposed from the empire, the electors having chosen *Robert* count-palatine of the *Rhine*, and duke of *Bavaria*, to succeed him. Amongst the other marks of misgovernment *Wenceslaus* was charged with, one was, that he had, to the prejudice of the

A. D.
1401.

The Flo-
rentines
assist Ben-
tivoglio,

and invite
the emperor
into Italy.

perial dignity, sold the rights of the empire over *Lombardy* to *Galeazzo* for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold, and given him the title of duke of *Milan*. The deposition of *Wenceslaus* gave the *Florentines* hopes of assistance from the new emperor, who sent ambassadors to *Rome* to signify his election to *Benedict*, one of the popes; for there were two then in *Europe*. The *Florentines* hearing his ambassadors were on the road, treated them with extraordinary civilities, and sent deputies of their own into *Germany* to invite the emperor into *Italy*. He heard them with great complacency; but, like his predecessors, all his answers implied that he expected they were to give him money.

Soon after *Bentivoglio* continued the war that had been entered into between *Astorgi* of *Famenza* and the *Bolognese*. And both *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines* sent him auxiliaries; but *Astorgi* being well supported, a peace was concluded between him and *Bentivoglio*, to the great dislike of count *Alberigo*, who commanded a separate body of twelve hundred horse, and was *Astorgi's* bitter enemy. His resentment went so far, that he brought *Galeazzo* to take part against *Bentivoglio*, whose chief dependence now was upon the *Florentines*, as theirs was upon the emperor. They, therefore, being every day apprehensive that all *Tuscany*, if not all *Italy*, would fall under the power of *Galeazzo*, pressed him, more than ever, to come to their relief, and a bargain between them was at last struck. The *Florentines* obliged themselves to pay to the emperor two hundred thousand golden ducats, part in hand, and part as soon as he entered *Galeazzo's* dominions in a hostile manner. The payment of this vast sum was agreed to be made at *Venice* by the hands of *Bruci*, a *Florentine* merchant of great credit and reputation. The emperor, that he might touch the money, filled all *Italy* with the news of his preparations; but, after the first payment, they were somewhat slackened. He arrived, however, at *Trent*; and, in order to be intitled to the residue of the money, he advanced against *Brescia*, a town belonging to *Galeazzo*. There the latter opposed him with a strong body of *Italian* cavalry; and though the emperor's army, having been joined by *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, and other *German* princes, was very numerous, yet it was intirely defeated by *Galeazzo's* generals, and obliged to retire to *Trent* with vast loss. Ashamed to return to *Germany*, without doing something worthy his great name and preparations, he was persuaded by the *Florentine* deputies, and *Francisco* of *Carrara*, to march to *Padua*; where a new deputation, consisting of the four greatest men in *Florence*, attended him with six hundred *Italian* horse, com-
manded

manded by the famous *Sforza*. Those deputies, in conference with him, found that he had nothing really in view but to get the remainder of the money, and that he was so miserably poor he could not keep his army together, without depending on the *Florentines*.

THIS inability of the emperor was a tender point for the *Florentines*; and therefore *Albizi* and *Vittori*, who were at the head of the deputation, returned to *Florence*, where they gave a verbal account of their negotiation. The *Florentines*, unwilling that the emperor's indigence should be publicly known, sent fresh instructions to their deputies, who remained with him at *Padua*, promising to gratify all his demands, provided he would continue with his army in *Italy* all the winter, and enter upon hostilities against *Galeazzo* early in the spring. But he insisted not only upon the residue of the money being immediately paid, but that they should enter upon a new subsidiary treaty with him, if he remained in *Italy*. The *Florentines*, foreseeing his drift, refused to comply with his terms; and, after spending a month in mutual altercations, he ordered his army to retreat towards *Germany*; while he himself went to *Venice*, where he complained most bitterly of the insincerity of the *Florentines*, and their breach of good faith. The *Florentines*, who greatly depended on the *Venetians*, took care to send two deputies to undeceive them. In a public audience they obtained, they complained, though with great decency, in their turn, that the emperor had not fulfilled his engagements. They insisted, that he had received more than half the money that had been promised him; and that the remainder was to be paid only after he had begun hostilities against *Galeazzo* with a powerful army; that his army was weak, and that he had retreated from their enemy upon the first appearance of danger. The *Venetians* seemed to take part with the *Florentines*; but strenuously endeavoured to make up matters between them. All their mediation was fruitless, and the emperor left their city.

NOTHING but the imminent danger of the *Florentines* could but return have prevailed with them to have continued this negotiation. The event was, that the emperor, upon his receiving the money he demanded, countermanded the march of his troops, and returned to *Padua*, where he passed the winter.

IT is evident, that at this time the *Florentines* were the only Great people of spirit in *Italy*. Neither the pope nor the *Venetians* could be brought to declare against *Galeazzo*; and the emperor, pretending he could not work impossibilities, returned to *Germany*. All this time *Galeazzo's* ambassadors, and the *Florentine* deputies, were pleading the cause of their principals.

Venice; but the *Venetians*, though they appeared on all occasions to side with the *Florentines*, could not be prevailed upon to depart from their neutrality. The emperor's expedition into *Italy*, however, at the invitation of the *Florentines*, was of service to them, as it encouraged several states, *Pistoia* particularly, to oppose *Galeazzo*.

It was no sooner known that the emperor and his army were on their return to *Germany*, than *Galeazzo* declared open war against *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, with whom he had hitherto kept some measures. He was now reconciled to the prince of *Mantua*, whom he sent into the *Bolognese* at the head of a powerful army, commanded, under him, by some of the best general-officers in *Italy*. The *Florentines*, as usual, were faithful to their allies; and sent their general *Bernard*, whom they still retained in their service, to the assistance of the *Bolognese*. Some other states, the allies of *Florence*, followed their example, till the *Bolognese* auxiliaries grew so powerful, that the *Florentines* seemed to rest the fate of *Tuscany* and of *Italy* upon that of *Bologna*. The *Florentines*, and their allies, took post at the village of *Casaleci*, about four miles from *Bologna*, as being the most proper for covering that city from the attempts of the enemy. But there was no comparison as to the goodness and discipline of the troops. The *Florentines* and their allies were attacked with such fury by their enemies, that they were intirely defeated, and all of them, except a very few who escaped to *Bologna*, were cut in pieces. *Bernard* and some of the chief *Florentine* generals were made prisoners. The consequence of this great defeat was, that the enemies of *Bentivoglio* within *Bologna* took arms, and, after killing him, opened their gates to *Galeazzo's* party, who now made themselves masters of *Bologna*.

but they
are totally
defeated.

THE *Florentines* were struck with the greatest consternation at the news of the defeat of an army, on which was all their dependence. But their enemies were commanded by so many leaders of different interests, that, far from pursuing their blow, they gave the *Florentines* leisure to provide for their own safety. The first thing they did was to quell the attempts of the *Ubalдини* and the *Casantine* lords, who had taken arms after they heard the *Florentines* had been defeated: They next resumed their old system of politics, in applying for assistance to the pope and the *Venetians*, who, they knew, were very uneasy at the vast growth of *Galeazzo's* power; but though the friendship of both was sought with extreme earnestness by the *Florentines*, both of them seemed to dread the horrors of a war. The pope's strength lay chiefly in his spiritual arms, and he had seen both *Bologna* and *Perugia* wrested

They recover
from
their con-
sternation.

wrested from the papacy. The *Venetians*, pretending they had suffered greatly by their late wars with *Genoa*, and the checks their trade had received, declined entering into any engagements with the *Florentines* against *Galeazzo*, unless the latter were at almost all the expence of the war. The *Florentines* thought it ignominious to submit to such conditions, and, dreading the infidelity of so mercenary a people, rejected the terms.

WHILE the *Florentines* were in this state of disappointment and anxiety, *Galeazzo* sent ambassadors to *Venice* with the proposals for peace, in which the *Florentines* were to be included. This news was at first discredited at *Florence*, and *Galeazzo's* intention distrusted. At last the *Florentines* ordered their deputies at *Venice* to enter upon a negotiation with *Galeazzo* and the *Venetians* at the same time. But a great event now happened, which rid them of their anxieties. This was the death of *Galeazzo*, who survived the taking of *Bologna* but a few weeks. According to *Aretin*^a, he was sincere in his proposals for an accommodation with *Florence*, that he might leave his sons, who were very young, in peaceable possession of his great and opulent dominions. *Bilius*^b, a *Milanese* contemporary historian, is silent as to his sincerity; and, to the glory of *Florence*, he tells us, that they were the only people in *Italy* whom *Galeazzo* had not made either his subjects or his friends; and that, had he lived but a few days longer, *Florence*, now deserted by all her allies, must have been conquered, as sixteen thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, were on their march against it as far as *Sienna*, when they received orders to halt. The *Florentines* found means to come at the certainty of *Galeazzo's* death, though it was kept very private; and they dispatched orders to their deputies at *Venice* to proceed no farther in the negotiations, either with the *Venetians* or the *Milanese*. His death,

BUT the safety of *Florence* must have still been precarious, had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed amongst the generals and grandees of *Milan*. *Galeazzo* had left to his eldest son, *John*, the greatest part of his dominions; and to his second son *Philip*, *Pavia*, *Novarra*, *Vercelli*, *Alessandria*, and other places in the neighbourhood; and had made his natural son, *Gabriel*, lord of *Pisa*, *Luna*, *Seranza*, and other places on that coast. He left the tutelage of his sons to *Peter* archbishop of *Milan*, *Carlo Malatesta* lord of *Rimini*, and *Giacomo Verini*. It appears by *Bilius*, that the court of *Milan*, not- and the dis-
ord. of his
court.

^a Ibid. pag. 248.
xix. p. 11.

^b BILIUS apud MURAT. tom.

withstanding its power, was at this time little better than barbarous, which must have been occasioned by their long wars; and that the education of the young princes was neglected, merely for want of persons capable to instruct them. The relations of *Galeazzo*, who were numerous and ambitious, took amiss that they had been excluded from all share in the government; and no regard was paid to *Galeazzo's* widow, the mother of the princes, who were at last put under the tutelage of *Giovanni Cassati*, a soldier, but a man of virtue: but this *Cassati* was soon murdered by the factious nobility, and the *Florentines*^a are accused^d of having fomented rebellions amongst the *Milanese* subjects.

The Florentines:
make war
in Milan.

THIS charge, however, redounds to their honour, as they looked upon the *Tuscan* acquisitions of *Galeazzo* to have been made by treachery as much as force; and, in effect, all they did was to invite the neighbouring states, who had been thereby dismembered from their alliance, to recover their liberty. Being well acquainted with the dissensions that prevailed at *Milan*, they at last entered into a league with pope *Boniface*, and took the field against the *Milanese*, naming *Nicholas* of *Ferrara* for their general. Their first attempt was on the *Parmesan*, where they were stoutly opposed by *Otto*, the *Milanese* governor. At last a negotiation was proposed; and it was managed between *Malatesta*, on the part of the *Milanese*, and *Gianelli*, brother to the pope, on that of the allies. The *Florentines* had demanded the rendition of *Bologna* and *Perugia*. *Malatesta* acted so artfully, that he persuaded *Gianelli* that it could be by no means for the interest of his holiness to depend upon such powerful allies as the *Florentines*; and that the court of *Milan* was ready to restore *Bologna* and *Perugia* to the Holy See, provided the *Florentines* were left out of the negotiation. This proposal was agreed to, and *Gianelli* was immediately put in possession of *Perugia*. Upon this, the allied army returned to *Tuscany*.

Their great
service to
the pope.

WHATEVER resentments the *Florentines* might have, upon being excluded from the late negotiation, they were so far from making any public complaints, that they made a merit of being the means of re-annexing to the Holy See two such valuable acquisitions, and of having dismembered them from the *Milanese*. They next attempted to rouse the *Siennese* to a sense of their liberty, by encouraging and supporting the party there that was in opposition to the *Milanese*. But failing in this attempt, they declared war against the *Siennese*, who threw themselves upon the protection of the Holy See

^d BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 13.

and *Gianelli*. This being more agreeable to the *Florentines* than if they had continued their attachments with the court of *Milan*, and a peace succeeded between *Florence* and *Sienna*.

LADISLAUS, son of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, was at this *Ladislaus*, time king of *Naples*, and pope *Boniface* was dead. *Ladislaus*, king of being a man of parts and ambition, soon grew as formidable *Naples*, to the *Florentines* as *Galeazzo* had ever been. Pope *Innocent* formidable succeeded *Boniface* in the Holy See; and *Ladislaus*, under pre- to the Flo- tence of congratulating him upon his accession, repaired to *Rome*: but his real intention was to form a party against the pope, which might oblige him to retire in disgust from *Rome*, and give him (*Ladislaus*) an opportunity of making himself master of that city. The pope, who was old and indolent, but crafty and experienced, saw that a powerful faction had been formed against him amongst the *Romans*, and demanded assistance from the *Florentines*, who sent him a body of horse. *Aretin* the historian was then at the papal court, and a great favourite with his holiness; but he gives us a very indifferent idea of the humanity of that court, when he tells us, that eleven noble *Romans*, who had been sent upon a peaceable commission to the pope, were, upon their return, made prisoners, and butchered in cold blood, by command of the pope's nephew; and that he himself very narrowly missed being murdered on that account. His holiness, however, was so well served by his *Florentine* auxiliaries, that he escaped to *Viterbo*, where he remained for some months, till the *Romans*, of their own accord, invited him back to their city.

WE now come to what we may almost call the final period *History of* of the *Florentine* glory. Their recovery, in a few years, from the war a state of the deepest despondency, to a condition of pre- with Pisa. scribing laws to those from whom they apprehended the greatest danger, can properly be ascribed only to their own magnanimity, and their wonderful attachment to independency. After their loss of the battle in the *Bolognese*, their infantry had been rallied by *Sforza* (A), a soldier of fortune, but of great courage and genius in war, who brought them safe to *Florence*.

* (A) *Leodrisio Cribelli*, who wrote the Life of this extraordinary prince, is highly disgusted with our historian *Aretin*, who, he says, was in the greatest esteem and honour in *Florence*, for omitting all mention of this *Sforza*, who, as he tells us, was bred up under Sir *John*

Hawkwood. The reason perhaps was, because *Sforza* was held to be of a very mean original, no better than the son of a farmer; his true name being *Attendula*, but got the name of *Sforza* from his boldness, or impetuosity.

A. D.
1405.

This service, though the *Florentine* historians have been ungrateful enough to suppress the mention of it, enabled them to recover their affairs to the surprising degree we have seen, and even to meditate the conquest of *Pisa*, to which they were encouraged by the dissensions and factions that still prevailed in the *Milanese* (B). There was a kind of a radical enmity between the *Pisans* and the *Florentines*. The former had, of old, given laws upon the *Tuscan* sea, and had been masters of *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and the *Balearic* islands. The antiquity of their city, compared to which they thought *Florence* but an upstart, increased their contempt of the *Florentines*; while the *Florentines*, equally proud, but conscious of the vast superiority which commerce gave them over the *Pisans*, considered them with disdain. This diversity of sentiments begat the same in interests, the *Florentines* following those of the *Guelphs*, and the *Pisans* those of the *Gibelins*. But the death of *Gaſſazzo* deprived *Pisa* at once of her master and protector, and left her exposed to the resentment of the *Florentines*, *Gabriel*, *Gaſſazzo*'s natural son, being but young and disregarded. According to *Palmerius**, the scheme of the *Florentine* conquest of *Pisa* was suggested to them by the *Genoese*, and the anti-pope *Benedict*, who then resided in that city, with a view of bringing the *Florentines* into *Benedict*'s interest, and to divert them from joining with the *Venetians*. The matter at first was proposed by way of negotiation, and that the *Florentines* should pay a considerable sum of money, by the hands of the pope and the *Genoese*, to *Gabriel*, on condition of his yielding up all his property in *Pisa*. This proposal was communicated by *Benedict* to the *Genoese*, and by *Boucicault*, the *French* governor of *Genoa*, to a *Florentine* merchant, named *Alderotti*, then residing at *Genoa*, who transmitted it to *Florence*. The magistrates of *Florence* thought the affair to be of so much importance, that they sent a trusty officer, one *Caponi*, to confer with *Alderotti*; but, above all, to scrutinize into the right which *Boucicault* and the anti-pope had to dispose of *Pisa*. *Caponi* accordingly addressed himself to *Boucicault*, and desired to know whether he was impowered to sell *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The *Frenchman* told him he was not, but that he would soon be impowered;

* PALMERIUS, ubi supra, p. 169.

(B) The following account of who wrote at that time a little the conquest of *Pisa* by the *Flo-* tract called *De Captivitate Pisu-*rentines is extracted from *Pal-*rum, published by *Muratori*,merius, a *Florentine* historian, tom. xix.

because

because pope *Benedict* proposed to reside at *Pisa*, in which case the *Pisans* would certainly offer him the command of their citadel, which he would deliver up to the *Florentines*. *Caponi* then demanded how much money was to be paid by the *Florentines*. He was answered four hundred thousand ducats of gold; half of which was to go as a subsidy to *Cararra* prince of *Padua*, and the other half by way of indemnification to *Gabriel* lord of *Pisa*.

So quick-sighted a people as the *Florentines* were not to be imposed upon by so infamous, yet so fallacious a proposal. They ordered their agent to inform *Bouccicault*, that the money should be forth-coming, upon the surrender of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. In the mean while, *Gabriel*, hearing of the anti-pope and *Bouccicault*'s treachery, and conscious of his own deserted condition, applied for advice and assistance to the *Florentines*. *Albizi* at this time continued to have the chief direction at *Florence*, and, sensible of *Gabriel*'s motives, he obtained leave of the magistracy to have a secret interview with him^f. The particulars of this interview, as described by *Palmerius*, are more curious than instructive. But though it was very artfully managed, the *Pisans* came to the knowledge of it, and it was immediately given out that *Gabriel* was about to sell *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans* took arms. *Gabriel* was obliged to fly to the citadel; and, despairing of all assistance from the *Florentines*, he applied to *Bouccicault*, who sent a body of troops to his aid. Upon this the *Florentines* sent two deputies, one to *Gabriel*, the other to *Bouccicault*, to treat of the surrender of *Pisa* and its territory. *Petrusanta* was pitched upon for the place of treaty; and, after various altercations, it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should pay to *Gabriel* a certain sum (C) for the town, territory, and castle of *Pisa*. Part of it was paid upon the surrender of the citadel by *Gabriel*, and part was to be discharged by monthly payments, upon the bargain being performed on *Gabriel*'s part.

^f PALMERIUS, ubi supra, p. 171.

(C) The reader of modern history is often baulked of a great deal of information by the inaccurate manner in which writers mention sums of money. In the present case, for instance, our author says, *Florentini centum & quinquaginta supra duo millia librarum auri preti nomine exsoluerent*. The literal meaning of which is, two thousand one hundred and fifty pounds; a very inconsiderable sum, when estimated by any species of money then known; but if we suppose the pound weight, it seems to be too large a price for the *Florentines*, rich as they were, to pay.

The citadel of *Pisa* was put into the hands of *Lorenzo Ruffosani*, one of the *Florentine* gonfaloniers; and the first payment was made by *Capozi*. The *Pisans*, however, did not think that *Gabriel* had a right to sell their liberties and country. They therefore took arms, and besieged the citadel, that had been surrendered to the *Florentines*, and which was garrisoned only by a company of raw country militia, who held it out for some time; but were at last obliged to surrender it the very day on which it was given up.

and lose it again.

War declared against the Pisans.

THE news of this loss created great discontent at *Florence*, where some were so generous as to approve of the spirit and courage of the *Pisans*; but the majority called out for an immediate war, against which the graver citizens strongly remonstrated. While this matter was under deliberation, five of the principal citizens of *Pisa* came as deputies to *Florence*, and demanded a public audience, which was granted them. The purpose of the deputation was far different from what the *Florentines* expected. The deputies boldly justified what had been done by their countrymen, and demanded back such of their castles as, by the bargain made with *Gabriel*, had been delivered up to the *Florentines*, and were still in their hands. This spirited behaviour, however equitable it might have been, reconciled all parties amongst the *Florentines*; so that it was unanimously resolved to lose no time in declaring war against *Pisa*. Ten held-deputies were accordingly created, and an army was raised, the command of which was given to *Bertoldo Urfini*. *Bertoldo* accordingly marched into the *Pisan* territory, and laid siege to *Vico*, a town which served as a key to *Pisa* itself. Winter however coming on, very little progress was made in the siege, and the *Florentines* were obliged to wreak their indignation against *Ruffosani*, and the militia who had garrisoned the citadel of *Pisa*, by condemning them to death.

The siege of Pisa undertaken.

THE *Pisans* were not wanting to themselves on this occasion. All civil dissensions amongst them were abolished. Families at variance were obliged to intermarry with each other, that they might unite in the common defence of their country; and religious processions were every day held to implore the assistance of heaven. All other human means for their defence were provided, and a considerable army was raised. The *Florentine* army was better disciplined and officered, and they at first defeated the *Pisans* in every encounter. The latter, however, raised fresh troops, and marched along the sea-coast to attack the *Florentines*, who were still intent upon the siege of *Vico*. *Sforza*, who continued to serve as a general officer with great reputation in the *Florentine* army, was detached

ached to meet them, and partly by courage, partly by stratagem, he defeated them; but their general *Paccio*, with the greatest part of their army, escaped to *Pisa*, where every thing was now in confusion. After the expulsion of *Gabriel* and the *Florentines*, no form of government had been settled, and every one aspired to be master of the city. *Gambacurta*, a relation of him we have already mentioned, prevailed; and was chosen regent, or, as he is called, the restor, of the people. He was no sooner established in his power, than he employed it to the most wicked purposes, by secretly putting to death all the principal persons of the state, whom he suspected not to be in his interest; and this barbarity created so universal a detestation of him, that he was soon deprived of his power.

In the mean while the *Pisans*, being threatened with a famine in *Pisa*, sent some ships to purchase corn in *Sicily*. Upon this the *Florentines* fitted out a squadron to intercept them in their return, and took a large vessel loaded with corn under the fortifications of *Vada*, a town situated at the mouth of the river *Cecina*. *Bertoldo* was all this while vigorously pressing the siege of *Vico*; and it was on that occasion that guns were first made use of by the *Florentines*. *Palmerius* * gives a most frightful description of several other dreadful machines employed in the same siege, in so much that he says there was not a house in the whole city that was not beaten down or damaged. We cannot, however, suppose that the machines or artillery he made use of, were so tremendous as they are described to be; for the place, though not remarkable for its strength, held out for above eight months. This tired out the patience of the *Florentines*, and *Bertoldo* was superseded in his command, which was given to *Olizi*; and thus a whole year was spent by the *Florentines*, at a great expence, but to very little purpose. The spirit of both people seemed to grow with the difficulties they had to encounter. The besieged held out with amazing resolution against all the power of *Florence*; and the *Florentines*, reflecting upon the vast expence which the acquisition of so inconsiderable a place had cost them, changed their field deputies, and resolved at all hazards to besiege *Pisa* itself. Foreseeing that the other powers of *Italy* might throw obstacles in their way, they entered into negotiations with the two chief of them, *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, and *Otto*, or *Otho*, duke of *Parma*. They agreed with the former to stand neutral in the quarrel between him and the pope, provided he did not assist the *Pisans*; and they purchased the neutrality of the other by a sum of money. The spring

* PALMERIUS, ubi supra, p. 177.

of the year 1406 was now approaching, and *Vico* still held out. The *Florentines*, to make the campaign decisive, ordered *Obizi* to continue that siege, and committed the command of the expedition against *Pisa* to *Luca Fiasani*, a *Genoese*; but joined in commission with him *Maso Albizi* and *Gino Caponi*.

Pisa more closely besieged.

“DETERMINED to make their chief efforts against *Pisa*, they turned the siege of *Vico* into a blockade, and drew off all the men they could from *Obizi*’s army; so that the whole of their troops, exclusive of irregulars, artizans, and workmen, amounted to five thousand horse and seven thousand foot, the place of rendezvous being *Cascia*. But, after a day’s march from thence towards *Pisa*, it was found that no magazines had been erected for their support, though the contractors, who resided at *Genoa*, had assured them that plenty of all necessaries had been provided. The few fruits which the earth then furnished were soon consumed, and it was proposed in a general council of war to return to *Florence*. This, upon debate, was found to be equally disgraceful and dangerous; and it was resolved to struggle a few days longer with famine, rather than forego their mighty expectations. In the mean while, purveyors were dispatched to *Florence*, and through all *Tuscany*, particularly along the sea-coasts, to purchase bread; and proclamations were issued, that all provisions imported into the *Florentine* camp should be duty-free. By these precautions, plenty soon succeeded famine in the *Florentine* army.

Operations of the siege. THE *Florentines* then made dispositions for cutting off all communication by water with *Pisa*, and threw a bridge over the *Arno*, by which means they intercepted several ships laden with provisions for *Pisa*; so that *Paccio*, the *Pisan* general, left the city, with all his horse, for fear of being starved. The *Pisans* attempted to restore their communication by water, and their fleet attacked that of the *Florentines*; but with so little success, that the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost despondency, and nothing but their inveterate hatred of the *Florentines* could have prevented an immediate surrender of their city. In the beginning of June, the *Arno* swelling to a great height, the *Pisans*, by chaining together large rafts of wood, which they drove upon the *Florentine* bridge, broke it down. Upon this, imagining the *Florentine* army to be divided, they resolved to attack that part of it next *Pisa*, which they thought to be the weakest. The *Florentines* had raised works at both the abutments of the bridge that had been destroyed; and *Cola Matteo*, who commanded the *Pisans* after the departure of *Paccio*, made the necessary dispositions for the attack.

The

The *Florentines*, whose main body lay on the opposite strand, were in great perplexity how to save their garrison, when *Sforza* offered to be answerable for it at the peril of his life, if the command of the work was given to him. This proposal was agreed to, and he immediately threw himself into a little skiff, and, with one companion and a horse, with extreme difficulty and danger, he reached the other shore, and entered the fort. *Tartalia*, like *Sforza*, a soldier of fortune, jealous of *Sforza's* reputation, threw himself into another skiff, and arrived at the fort about the same time.

To a modern military officer those two exploits may appear very inconsiderable; but they were at that time thought to be so daring, that the *Pisans* lost all courage, and, without striking a blow, returned to their city, fatigued and wearied, after a fruitless march. Many of them were so tired, that they remained in the fields and woods; and the river decreasing next day, all the *Florentine* army passed it, and made them prisoners. This exploit, performed by *Sforza*, was looked upon by the *Florentines* to be so important^b, that they settled a pension upon him of five hundred ducats a year for life, and made it payable to him, whatever service he should embrace. *Sforza rewarded.*

THE *Florentine* army lay now before the walls of *Pisa*; The *Flo-* and, from the desponding behaviour of the besieged, they were made to believe that they might master that city by an escalade (D) in the night. For this purpose a picked detachment was draughted. Their armour was light, and, to make the less noise, their feet were bare, and they mounted the walls. Notwithstanding all their precautions, when they thought themselves sure of success, the besieged took the alarm. Men, women, and children ran to the fortifications, which they defended so bravely, that the *Florentines* were beaten off. The *Pisans* were so much elated by this short gleam of success, that they dragged at the tail of an ass the mangled body of a *Florentine* soldier through their streets; an indignity which was resented by the corps to which the soldier belonged, by cutting in pieces all the *Pisan* prisoners who were in their custody. *miscarry in an escalade.*

THE miscarriage of the escalade revived animosities amongst the *Florentine* officers. *Sforza* and *Tartalia* continued still to be competitors for command. Both of them were unexcept-

^b CRIBELLIUS de Vita Sfortiæ vicecomitis, apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 643.

(D) This, in the modern military language, is called a Coup de main.

tionable, as to their fidelity, as well as abilities; but *Tartalia* complained that *Sforza* intended to poison him. *Albizi* and *Caponi*, who then attended the *Florentine* army in their tour of duty, as field-deputies, did all they could to make up this difference, which threatened an universal mutiny in the army. *Tartalia*, however, under the shew of great resignation, still harboured resentment; and as soon as the service of the two field-deputies was expired, their differences broke out with more rancour than before. While those factious disputes continued to divide the *Florentine* army, it was attacked by pestilential diseases, arising from the unwholesomeness of the soil and neighbourhood in which they were encamped. The magistracy of *Florence* were of opinion, that the inactivity of their troops contributed greatly to their distress, and orders were given for pressing the siege with more activity than ever. Accordingly the bridge across the *Arno* was repaired. *Tartalia* commanded the troops on one side of the river, and *Sforza* those on the other. A junction was effected between the main army and the troops that still lay before *Vico*, in such a manner that both places were thoroughly invested, and bridges of boats were thrown over several parts of the *Arno*.

*Cruelty of
both par-
ties.*

THOSE dispositions struck terror into the *Pisans*; and *Gambacurta*, who continued to command in the city, turned out of it all the useless mouths, the better to husband his provisions. The *Florentines*, aware of his design, proclaimed in their camp, that no quarter should be given to any who were thus turned out, and they actually hanged up great numbers in sight of their fellow citizens; while they committed others, in rotten boats, to the stream of the *Arno*, which carried them back to *Pisa*, with copies of the fatal proclamation round their necks. The *Florentines*, however, relented in this inhuman practice, and were contented with branding such of the male *Pisans* who fell into their hands, and cutting the skirts from the cloaths of the females, and then turning both back into the city. The consequence was, that the city was soon reduced to the last degree of misery by famine; nor was *Vico* in a better condition. While this inhuman war was thus raging, the people of *Biento*, a town in the neighbourhood, acted the part of mediators, and applied to the inhabitants and garrison of *Vico*, to persuade them to surrender, in which they succeeded; and *Albizi* was sent from *Florence* to settle the capitulation. The terms were, that if *Vico* was not succoured in ten days, it should surrender to *Albizi*, which it accordingly did.

*The Pisans
treat;*

THE *Pisans* by this time were reduced through famine to despair; and *Vico* being taken, they lost their chief dependence, and

and thought at last of treating. One *Gaspard*, a citizen of *Pisa*, was sent out to confer, for that purpose, with *Caponi* and the other field-deputies; and, after a negotiation of several days, every thing was considered to be as good as concluded upon; when all of a sudden, in the night time, *Pisa* resounded with acclamations of joy and musical instruments, and blazed with illuminations and bonfires, and at day-break the duke of *Burgundy's* colours were seen flying on the walls. Soon after a *French* officer came into the *Florentine* camp, and informed them that *Pisa* now belonged to his master the duke of *Burgundy*, who had ordered him to require the *Florentines* to desist from the siege. Though the *Florentines* were not a little startled at this message, yet they resolutely answered, that they had too great an opinion of the honour and good faith of the duke, for them to believe that any such message had come from him; and that they were resolved to prosecute the siege with more vigour than ever. This resolute answer served only to render the *French* officer the more insolent; and he made it his business to swagger round the camp the whole day, denouncing vengeance against the *Florentines* if they did not raise the siege; till at last he became so intolerable, that some of their officers threw him into the *Arno*. He escaped by swimming ashore, and went to *Florence*, where he repeated all his extravagancies; but was soon driven out of that city.

It quickly appeared, that the *Pisans* had actually made a but trans-surrender of themselves and their city to the duke of *Bur-* for their *gundy*, brother of the *French* king, who was in no condition ^{sovereignty} to relieve them, but by means of *Boucicault*, who still con- to the duke tinued to be his governor in *Genoa*. The *Florentines*, though of *Bur-* they dissembled, knew of the transaction; but did not chuse *gundy*. to break with the *French*. Their success against *Pisa* had been chiefly owing to three large galleys^k lent them by the *Genoese*, which blocked up the mouth of the *Arno*; and they likewise had in their army many *Genoese* soldiers and engineers, upon whom they had great dependence. Fearing, however, that *Boucicault* might prevail with the *Genoese* magistrates to recall their troops and sailors, the *Florentines* obliged all the *Genoese* in their service to take an oath, that they would in no event, and at no command, leave the service of the *Florentines* within a certain stated time. Perhaps the largeness of the *Florentine* pay was the best guaranty of this oath; for when *Boucicault*, soon after, by his master's orders, required

^k BILLII Historia apud MERAT. tom. xix. pag. 16. PALMERIUS de Captivitate Pisarum, ibid, pag. 135.

They are
forced to
resume
their nego-
tiation

the *Genoese* to return to their own country, not a man of them obeyed him, all of them pleading the engagement they were under. The last resource of the *Pisans*, which lay in the French duke, thus failing them, the negotiation for a surrender was renewed, and *Bindi*, a *Pisan*, was sent by *Gambacurta* to *Caponi* for that purpose. He carried in his face every mark of extreme famine; but, though he supped with the *Florentine* general, all his entreaties could not prevail upon him to give him a loaf of bread. Such misery was no longer to be withstood. *Billius*¹ says, that *Gambacurta* treated privately with the *Florentines*; but if he had not, the place must have surrendered. After some negotiating, the capitulation was settled in the following terms; viz. that *Giacomo Gambacurta* should deliver up to the *Florentines* the city of *Pisa* within three days; that the *Florentines* should pay to him fifty thousand golden *ducats* on such delivery, and that he himself and his posterity should enjoy their private estates in the *Pisan* territory; and that the *Pisans* should give twenty hostages to *Fiascani*, the *Florentine* general, for the due performance of the conditions.

with the
Floren-
tines; and
the terms
are settled.

THAT public jealousy which is so prevalent in a free state, did not suffer *Caponi* to conclude this capitulation without the advice of the other field-deputies, who were at *Florence*; and they, from the same motives, carried the matter before the presidents, who thought proper immediately to summon a *Balia*, or meeting of the people. The question there put was, Whether it was their pleasure to receive *Pisa* by way of capitulation, or to wait a few days till famine should force the inhabitants to surrender without terms? The former was chosen, as most eligible and humane; and *Caponi*, with another nobleman called *Corbinello*, were immediately deputed to see the capitulation performed. They had, however, a difficult point to manage. *Sforza* and *Tartalia*, though they agreed in nothing else, joined in condemning a peace, by which they were to lose the plunder of the city; but they were restrained by the authority of *Caponi* from coming to extremities; and at last a seeming reconciliation between them and the advocates for peace was effected. This was not the only difficulty that occurred. The twenty hostages that were given were of the noblest families of *Pisa*; but the public were ignorant of the particulars of the capitulation, or that the hostages were to be imprisoned until all the terms were fulfilled. This consideration startled *Gambacurta*; but *Bindi* advised him to throw himself entirely upon the good faith and generosity

¹ BILLIUS ubi supra.

of the *Florentines*, which he accordingly did. *Caponi*, who had the chief management of the negotiation, acted on this occasion with a magnanimity and wisdom that did him great honour. He found there was a powerful party amongst the general officers, who were for plundering the *Pisans*; and the latter, who were still numerous and desperate, were ignorant that their city was to be instantly given up. *Caponi*, by his address and resolution, got the better of all difficulties in his own camp; but he refused to take possession of *Pisa*, as *Gambacurta* would have persuaded him to do, in the night time, for fear of treachery. This obliged *Gambacurta* to pass the night, with some of his friends, under the gate which was to be given up; and by break of day the *Florentine* army appeared before it, drawn up in a most tremendous array. Upon this *Gambacurta* presented *Caponi* with the steel head of an arrow, as a token of his resigning to the *Florentines* the sovereignty of *Pisa*, which the other received in the most polite manner.

THE *Pisans*, at this time, ignorant of what had happened, *Pisa* were drawn up in the great square of the city, and were surprised when they saw their enemies within their gates; but much more so at the peaceable friendly manner in which they advanced. *Caponi*, who had left a strong guard to preserve *Gambacurta* from the violence of the *Pisans*, immediately ordered the terms of capitulation to be proclaimed, and that the *Pisans* should be safe in their persons and properties, and relieved from all their distresses. Upon this the inhabitants of every age and condition flocked round their conquerors as their deliverers; but never did a more touching scene of misery appear than was presented by those living ghosts. Almost every thing that was eatable had been consumed, and many of the besieged had subsisted upon dead bodies torn from the graves. The *Florentines* had brought along with them a quantity of bread, which they threw amongst the people as they passed through the streets. The sight of food, and their eagerness to catch at it, made the *Pisans* forget all animosities towards their late enemies, and the rendition of their city was completed without tumult. Upon a narrow search it was discovered, that no kind of provision remained in *Pisa*, the day it surrendered, but three very lean cows, and a pound or two of sugar.

THIS sudden transition from a state of the most deplorable famine, to one of plenty, ease, and tranquility, gave some suspicion to the *Pisans* that all that shew of friendship was intended to lull them into a state of security, till the *Florentines* should find an opportunity of plundering and murdering

dering them. *Gino Caponi*, to remove those suspicions, called a general assembly, both of the magistrates and people, and made a formal speech to assure them of the good faith and friendship of his masters the *Florentines*; which had so good an effect, that twenty of the chief citizens of *Pisa* were named to go to *Florence*, and there to make a formal surrender of their sovereignty to the magistracy. This was done with great pomp; and for some months nothing was heard in *Florence* but music of all kinds, and shouts of triumph; and nothing seen but festivities, jousts, tournaments, and magnificent processions.

Affairs of the papacy. ACCORDING to *Aretin*^a, the *Florentine* name never was so renowned and glorious as it was upon the taking of *Pisa*. Their city became now the rendezvous of all the great and the polite amongst the *Italians*; and they behaved with so much tenderness and respect towards the *Pisans*, that they found no difficulty in reducing to their obedience all the *Pisan* territory, which, according to *Palmerius*, contained no fewer than eighty-four walled towns. This rendered them so formidable, that none of their neighbours chusing to disturb them, they for some years continued in a state of tranquillity, excepting when it was disturbed by the schism that still prevailed in the papacy, which at this time continued to divide all *Europe*. Upon the death of the anti-pope *Innocent*, the cardinals at *Rome* chose a *Venetian*, *Angelo Corrario*; but exacted a promise from him to abdicate the papacy, as soon as his competitor *Peter de Luna* should do the same, or as soon as the cardinals should think fit to proceed to a new election. *Corrario*, being chosen, was in no haste to fulfil his engagement, but trifled most egregiously with his electors, and avoided having any interview in order to compromise matters. *Corrario* had taken the name of *Gregory*, and was attended by *Aretin* the historian, on the part of the *Florentines*, to *Rimini*, which was then in subjection to *Carlo Malatesta*, to whom *Aretin* gives a very high character. In the mean while, the *Florentines*, as well as the rest of *Christendom*, ashamed of the conduct of the two anti-popes, and the scandal thereby arising to the church, agreed that a council should be held at *Pisa*, where both popes were solemnly deposed; and another, *Philargi*, a *Greek* by birth, being chosen, took the name of *Alexander*. This new pope was opposed by *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, who had done all he could to obstruct the meeting of the council at *Pisa*, and his holiness conferred the kingdom of *Naples* upon *Lewis* of *Anjou*, the son of that

^a *ARETIN. rerum Italicarum Hist. p. 256.*

duke, who had disputed it before with *Charles of Durazzo*. The *Florentines* took part with *Lewis*, and *Ladislaus* marched an army into *Tuscany*, where he sat down before *Arezzo*, in hopes of an insurrection within that city in his favour; but, though he was disappointed in that, *Cortona* opened its gates to him. He was, however, soon after obliged to return to *Rome*. In the mean while pope *Alexander* died, and an Italian cotemporary historian ^b (A), who knew him well, gives him excessive commendations for virtue and piety; only he tells us, he was such an epicure that he spent half his time at table, and that he had forty wenches in his family all in the same habit; but he attributes that piece of luxury to his being a native of *Greece*.

Death and character of pope Alexander.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Alexander's* death, the dispute between *Lewis* of *Anjou* and *Ladislaus*, about the crown of *Naples* still continued, and the *Florentines* sent an army to the disservice assistance of the former, under the command of *Paolo Ursini* king of *Sforza*. *Lewis* was attended by *Baldassar Cossa*, who acted as the legate of pope *Alexander*. This person had been bred up a pirate, and acted in that capacity when he first took orders; afterwards, betaking himself to the land service, he was a great partizan of pope *Urban*, and amassed as much money by maraudings and inroads, as bought him a cardinal's hat. At last, he was made general for the pope, and legate of *Bologna*, which he was the great means of recovering from the *Visconti* family. The cardinals being met for the election of a new pope, chose this *Cossa*, who immediately assumed the name of *John XXIII*. After remaining some time at *Bologna*, he marched by the way of *Florence* to *Rome*, which, after various disputes, by this time, was recovered from *Ladislaus*. *Ladislaus* was encamped upon the frontiers of *Naples*, at *Rocca Vecchia*, and *Lewis*, with the *Florentine* army, advanced to fight him. Having a great superiority of numbers over the *Florentines*, *Ursini*, the *Florentine* general, who bore no good will to *Sforza*, with most of the officers, were against coming to a battle. But *Sforza* remonstrating with great spirit against the disgrace which their retreat would be attended with, brought *Lewis* over to his opinion, and the army passed the *Garigliano*. Their army was drawn up in three divisions: the command of the first, which was to attack the *Napole- tans* in front, was given to *Sforza*, who was to be supported

War between Ladislaus king of Naples and the duke of Anjou.

^b BILLIUS ubi supra.
MURAT. tom. xix. p. 651.

^c CRIBEL. de Vita Sfortiae apud

(A) This pope *Alexander* was *Galeazzo* had put at the head the archbishop of *Milan*, whom of his regency at his death.

A. D.
1410.
Ladislaus
utterly de-
feated.

by the second, consisting of cavalry under *Lewis* himself; while the third, under *Ursini*, was to wheel off in order to attack the enemy in their rear, where *Ladislaus* himself was. It appears from our author, that that prince practised a stratagem pretty frequent in those days, which was, that of dressing up a number of officers in arms and robes not to be discerned from his own. He was superior to *Lewis*, not only in the number, but in the discipline, appointments, and armour of his troops; and he had placed the flower of his army in his front. *Sforza's* charge was very furious, and *Ursini* breaking in during the heat of the dispute, *Ladislaus* was defeated and put to flight, leaving behind him almost all his general officers, his camp, and an immense booty in the possession of the *Florentines*, whose general *Sforza* had the chief honour of the victory.

It is on all hands agreed, that if the *Florentines* had pursued their blow, they might have placed *Lewis* upon the throne of *Naples*. According to some authors, the booty which both the officers and soldiers had acquired, was so immense that they did not chuse to risk the loss of it, and were impatient to return home. The writer of *Sforza's* life^a informs us, that the glory *Sforza* had acquired, was so disagreeable to *Ursini*, that the latter thwarted him in every measure he proposed. According to him, *Sforza* proposed pursuing *Ladislaus* that very night, and laying siege to *St. Germano*, in which he had taken refuge, and which probably would have surrendered had it been attacked before he had recovered from his consternation. This proposal was opposed by *Ursini* and the *Florentine* officers, who all of them treated it as romantic and impracticable, and notwithstanding the earnestness of *Lewis* to have it carried into execution, it was laid aside. Next day, though *Lewis* protested against it, the army repassed the *Garigliano*, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign. *Arctin*^b informs us, it was usual after this for *Ladislaus* to say, 'That the day on which he was defeated his enemies had it in their power to have been masters both of his person and kingdom; that the second day they might have been masters of his kingdom, though not of his person; but that the third day both his person and kingdom were out of their power.'

Ladislaus
retrieves
his affairs.

THE truth is, *Ladislaus*, like a great man as he was, far from desponding under his defeat, sought to prevent the consequences of it. He sent expresses through all his kingdom for recruiting and remounting his troops; and ordering new

^a Vide CRIBEL. ubi supra.

^b Page 257.

levies to repair, as they did in great numbers to *St. Germano*, he was again formidable, and that too chiefly through the aversion his subjects had to a *French* government. It appears, however, on the face of history, as if he owed his safety, and the happy turn his affairs took at this time, to a secret negotiation entered into between him and the *Florentines*, by which he actually ceded, or, according to others, sold to them *Cortona*, which proved to them a valuable acquisition; and according to *Florentine* historians, a peace at the same time was concluded upon between him and the *Florentines*; but it must have been a peace only of convenience on his side, for in a few weeks both parties were again in arms. This peace, however, had the effect of discouraging *Lewis* of *Anjou* to such a degree, that he returned to *France*, and gave over all thoughts of prosecuting his claims upon *Naples*.

LADISLAUS having thus gained the great point he aimed at, renewed his preparations for war. The *Florentines* had served the continued their troops and their generals in the service of pope, pope *John*, and that part of their army, which was commanded by *Sforza*, wintered in the duchy of *Spoletto*. It had been agreed between the pope and the *Florentines*, that his holiness should pay the troops in his service; but being unable to satisfy *Sforza's* arrears, which amounted to seventeen thousand ducats, he created him count of *Cotignola*. *Ursini*, the other *Florentine* general, could not brook such an honour being conferred on his rival, whose original was scarcely known, and insisted upon the pope's dismissing him from his service. His holiness durst not disoblige *Ursini*, who was the head of one of the noblest families in *Rome*; and *Sforza* at last drawing together a few troops he still commanded, fortified himself on *Selva d'Algieri*, formerly called *Mons Algidum*. While he was in this situation, he received a message from the pope, by a cardinal, inviting him to continue in his service, and offering him a sum of gold; but no way equal to the arrears due to him. *Sforza* rejected the money as not worthy his acceptance, expressed the most profound veneration towards the pope, but inveighed bitterly against *Ursini*, and declared he would continue no longer in the service of his holiness. *Ladislaus*, by this time, was advancing at the head of an army against *Rome*, and no sooner heard that *Sforza* had quitted the pope's service, than he offered him his own terms if he would enter into his.

THE bargain was soon struck: *Sforza* received money and then enough to pay off the arrears of his troops, and marched with *Ladislaus*.

* *Istorie di Firenze dall' An. 1406 fino al 1438* apud *MURAT.* ubi supra. *MACHIAVEL*, book iii.

lying colours into the royal camp. The winter coming on, and provisions falling scarce in the *Neapolitan* army, nothing farther could be done that campaign. The troops were dismissed into winter-quarters; and *Ladislaus* not only made *Sforza* governor of *Perugia*, but raised him and his family to the degrees of honour and riches that sovereignty could bestow. Most of the *Florentine* auxiliaries had left *Sforza*, and continued to serve under *Ursini*, who was first in command. Early next spring *Sforza* was at the head of his troops, and marched against *Ursini*, who lay in the marquisate of *Ancona*; but was driven by him from place to place, till at last he was obliged to take refuge in *Rocca Contrada*, where he was besieged by *Sforza* and the other *Florentine* generals.

*Ursini de-
feated.*

*The Flo-
rentines
create
Brachio
their ge-
neral.*

THE *Florentines*, being thus in a manner left without a general, gave the command of their troops to *Brachio*, a *Perugian* nobleman; and *Martin* intimates^d, he was so great a captain as to leave the palm of military glory doubtful between him and *Sforza*. He had been at first an exile from his country, and by his brave actions had acquired so great renown, that the *Florentines* thought it a triumph when he accepted the command of their troops. After serving them with great fidelity and success in *Tuscany*, he was sent with his army to the relief of pope *John* and *Ursini*, who continued still in danger of being utterly ruined by the *Neapolitans*. It would swell this history too much should we enter into a detail of all the brave actions performed by *Brachio*, in the course of this war. The writers of particular lives are apt to magnify every successful skirmish into a glorious victory gained by their hero. It must, however, be owned in general, that *Brachio's* real exploits require no historical amplification to recommend them; and it is acknowledged, that in civil virtues he was superior to *Sforza*. While both those generals served in subordinate capacities, the greatest friendship subsisted between them; but they were no sooner raised to independent commands, than each conceived a mortal antipathy to the other. While *Sforza* was governor of *Perugia* for *Ladislaus*, daily encounters happened between him and *Brachio*; but generally to the advantage of the latter, because he was better acquainted with, and beloved in, the country. After this, *Brachio* served with great honour and success in the *Bolognese*, and was the means of reducing that city entirely to the authority of the pope, who never before durst venture to check the inhabitants.

*His ex-
ploits.*

WHILE *Brachio* was in the *Bolognese*, he received an account of the disagreeable situation of *Ursini*, who still conti-

nued to be besieged in *Rocca Contrada*. The place was excessively strong, and could only be reduced by famine. The siege, however, was obstinately carried on for three months by *Sforza* and *Malatesta*, who was now in the *Neapolitan* service; and *Brachio* resolved at all events to raise it. With this view he marched against *Cesena*, a flourishing town belonging to *Malatesta*, which, with its castle, he took, plundered, and demolished. *Ladislaus*, on the other hand, ordered *Campano*, another of his generals, to reduce all the places belonging to *Brachio*, in the *Perugian* territory. Upon this, *Brachio* marched to *Borgo St. Sepulchro*, on the *Florentine* frontiers, and from thence to *Montone*, which he took, and found means to concert with *Ursini* his escape from *Rocca Contrada*, advising him to march to *Ugubio*, about ten miles distant. If he was attacked in his march by the *Neapolitans*, *Ursini* was to expect no farther assistance from him, as the main point must be then compassed: that of raising the siege; but that if the enemy continued it, he was determined to attack them in their entrenchments, while he was to be favoured by a brisk sally from the place. This scheme held. The besiegers drew off to oppose *Brachio*, and *Ursini* took that opportunity of escaping with his garrison to *Urbino*, from whence he joined *Brachio*; and thus *Ursini* was saved, by what the writer of *Sforza's* life thinks to be next to a miracle. The *Neapolitans* at this time had two armies in the field, each of them superior in number to that of *Brachio*; but inferior in military experience and discipline. One of the *Neapolitan* armies was then besieging *Ponte Patulo*, in the *Perugian* territory. The other observed the motions of *Brachio*, who could not prevail with *Ursini* to attempt the raising of the siege by surprizing the enemy. After this *Ursini* marched to *Orvieto*, and *Brachio* to *Todi*, and from thence to *Marciano*, a town belonging to himself in *Perugia*, which had bravely held out against all the *Neapolitan* power in *Tuscany*. Upon his approach the *Neapolitans* raised the siege of *Ponte Patulo*; and matters continued quiet in *Tuscany* during the remainder of the campaign. *Ladislaus*, however, still carried on the war against pope *John*; but the active *Brachio* found means to make himself master of the important town of *Todi*, lying between *Perugia* and *Rome*. To repair this loss, *Ladislaus* took a great many strong places from the pope, whom he had expelled from *Rome*, and who had taken refuge in the state of *Florence*.

THE *Florentines* were at this time greatly divided in their sentiments. Notwithstanding the activity of *Brachio* and their other generals, *Ladislaus* was daily gaining ground, and

was now become as formidable to them as *Galeazzo* had ever been. The pope's capacity seemed to be no ways suitable to his dignity: his authority was disowned by the greatest part of *Christendom*; and a great party amongst the *Florentines* thought that they had embarked already too far in his quarrel. Add to this, that a general council was, by this time, indicted at *Constance*, with the approbation of almost all the princes of *Christendom*, for settling the affairs of the church, and for chusing a new pope. Upon the whole, they were of opinion that *Ladislaus* ought not to be farther provoked.

into which
he is not
admitted.

THOUGH the *Guelphs* were still the prevailing party in *Florence*, yet the above considerations were so plausible, that the pope was not invited into that city; but resided in a country-seat belonging to the archbishop. Perceiving the *Florentines* to be thus cold in his favour, he applied to the emperor *Sigismund*, by his cardinals, and offered, for the good of the church, to submit himself to a general council. The emperor was satisfied with this proposal; but great difficulties arose as to the place where the council was to be held. The pope told *Aretin*, in confidence, that he was resolved not to agree to any place where the emperor's power was greater than his own. But at last, finding the state of his affairs desperate, he gave the two cardinals, whom he sent as his legates to the emperor, full power to agree to any place which he and they should think most proper. After various conferences, the city of *Constance* was agreed to by the legates, to the great chagrin of the pope, though he was obliged to conceal it.

Ambition
of *Ladi-*
slaus.

By this time *Ladislaus* had failed in an expedition against *Bologna*, the command of which he had given to the marquis *d'Este*, who could not, without jealousy, behold the growing power of *Ladislaus* in *Italy*. The latter, however, made a great acquisition in bringing over to his service *Ursini*, who now became as determined an enemy of the *Florentine* general, as *Sforza* had been before. This accession of strength was very agreeable to *Ladislaus*, as *Ursini* carried with him a well disciplined body of troops, who were very useful in the siege of *Todi*, which was still carried on with twenty-eight thousand men; a force sufficient to have subdued all *Tuscany*, which was the real aim of *Ladislaus*. *Braccio's* force did not exceed three thousand; but with them he did wonders. *Ladislaus* at first blockaded the place, and destroyed the country round, which induced the citizens to send some of their chiefs to treat of a surrender; one of the terms of which was,

* *ARETINI*, pag. 257.

† *Ibid.* pag. 258.

that *Brachio* and the *Florentine* forces might retire to where they thought proper. It was with difficulty that *Ladislaus* could be brought to agree to this last article; and *Brachio* retiring to *Fratta* in the *Perugian*, five hundred *Neapolitan* infantry took possession of *Todi*; but the new garrison behaved with such brutality, that the inhabitants expelled them, and recalled *Brachio*, and thus the siege recommenced. The defence which *Brachio* made was so noble, and his behaviour so generous, especially to some *Neapolitan* noblemen, whom he had made prisoners in a sally, that *Ladislaus* invited him to a private conference, in which he offered him very high terms if he would enter into his service, which *Brachio*, like a man of honour, rejected, and thereby increased the king's esteem of him. During this siege, *Sforza* is said to have Generosity saved *Ursini* from being taken prisoner, notwithstanding the of *Sforza* enmity subsisting between them. At last, after *Ladislaus* had spent four and twenty days without any prospect of taking the place, he withdrew his army to *Perusia*, where, upon suspicion, he put *Ursini* under arrest. Perceiving his health languishing, he returned by the way of *Rome* to *Naples*, where *Ladislaus* died in August 1414, leaving his sister *Joanna*, dutchess of Austria, heir to his kingdom. Thus, the *Florentines* were 1414. once more saved, by the critical death of a prince, who was their determined enemy, and who found no check but *Florence* to prevent his becoming master of all *Italy*. His death being known to *Sforza*, who had been left behind to command against *Brachio*, he put every thing into the best posture he could in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and marched to secure *Rome* in the obedience of his new mistress. The time now approached for the meeting of the general council at *Constance*. Pope *John* and the emperor *Sigismund* had several interviews with one another, and they had been continued for some months at *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and other places in *Lombardy*; the em- Interview between but all the effect of them was, that each conceived for the peror and other a concealed hatred; and the pope, taking his leave of pope. the emperor, passed the winter at *Mantua*, from whence he went to *Bologna*, where he was when he received news of the death of *Ladislaus*. But having faithfully promised the emperor that he would attend the council of *Constance*, and submit to whatever it should decree, he now found himself under a necessity of repairing to that city. Before he set out, he ordered *Brachio*, who was then with his army in *Ancona*, to repair to *Bologna*, to take upon him the government of it in his absence. According to some, the design of his holiness was to put *Brachio* to death, in which case the *Perugians* had promised to submit to the holy see; and the pope would have been

Florence
in tran-
quility.

quit of a large arrear owing him for pay. It is certain *Braccio* suspected somewhat of this; for when he came attended only by his own domestics to pay his respects to the pope, he had scarce entered the city when he returned with the utmost haste to his camp, and commenced hostilities in the *Bolognese*. Whatever the intention of the pope might be, he saw that *Braccio* was his master, and a few days effected a reconciliation, by which *Braccio* was put into full possession of the government of *Bologna*, and all its revenues. *Florence* was then so perfectly at peace with all the neighbouring powers, that she had no occasion to recal *Braccio*; nor were her civil contentions at this time at all dangerous, though the animosities amongst the chief citizens were far from being extinguished. But the leading families had suffered so much each in their turn, that they were contented to remain quiet under the present government, till a proper opportunity for renewing their claims should offer itself.

Council of
Constance
held.

THIS shew of tranquility, which, according to *Machiavel*, continued for about eight years after the death of *Ladislaus*, was greatly owing to the suspense in which the minds of all *Europe*, those of the *Florentines* particularly, were kept, by what passed at the council of *Constance*; to which city the pope repaired on the twenty-eighth of *October*; and *Sigismund*, who had now been crowned emperor at *Aix-le-Chapelle*, followed him the twenty-third of *December* after. Next day the emperor performed the deacon's office, as is usual on such occasions, in the imperial *Dalmatic*, at a midnight mass, celebrated by the pope penitentially, but without the humiliating circumstances of being barefooted, of holding the pope's stirrup, or leading his mule by the bridle. The meeting was one of the most splendid that had ever been seen in *Europe*. According to *Arctin*, the emperor was attended by no fewer than thirty thousand horse. The pope presided at the council. Three thrones were erected in the cathedral, one for the pope, one for the empress, and one between both for the emperor. Of the *German* princes were present, the electors of *Saxony*, *Palatine*, and *Mentz*; the administrator of *Brandenburg*; the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Austria*, and *Silesia*; one hundred and twenty-eight counts, two hundred barons, and twenty-seven ambassadors from sovereign princes or states. In all the articles of luxury, debauchery, and revelling, it resembled a carnival, rather than a council of venerable fathers. The *Florentines*, like other sovereign states, had their deputies there; but they were generous enough not to desert

pope *John*, though in fact he abandoned himself. The fathers, after various deliberations, came to a resolution that *John*, as well as the two antipopes, *Angelo Carrario*, or *Peter de Luna*, should resign their dignities.

JOHN, who presided at the council, agreed to those terms, provided his two competitors could be brought to agree to them likewise; adding, that he was willing to abdicate the popedom in all cases wherein any such abdication could be of advantage to the church. He had no sooner made this declaration, than the emperor, descending from his throne, threw himself at *John's* feet, to thank him for it, in the name of all Christian princes; and the patriarch of *Antioch* followed his example, in the name of all Christian ecclesiastics. This submission of *John* was mortifying to the secret enemies of the emperor in *Germany*, particularly the archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Fredrich* duke of *Austria*; and they tampered with him to retract it, in which they prevailed. *John* had some colour for this; from the council being overawed by the imperial forces. He, therefore, disguised himself like a peasant, and fled to *Schaffhausen*. The cardinals who had attended him knew nothing of his intention, and repaired to *Schaffhausen* to persuade him to return; but all was to no purpose. This conduct of *John* exasperated the council and the emperor so greatly, that he was now formally deposed, and all Christians were commanded to pay no obedience either to him or to the two anti-popes. The duke of *Austria*, perceiving the emperor and the council to be strictly united together, arrested *John*, as he was endeavouring to escape to *Burgundy*, threw him into prison, and then asked pardon on his knees of the emperor for what he had done. *John* being now in custody, and deserted by those on whom he had mostly depended (for the *Florentines* seem to have given him no encouragement either in his flight or retraction) now lost all spirit, and resolved to submit in the fullest manner to his enemies. He accordingly freely renounced the papacy; and laid aside all the badges of that dignity. *Gregory XII.* for *Corrario* had assumed that name, who then resided at *Rimini*, under the protection of *Malatesta*, followed his example; but *Benedict XIII.* as *de Luna* called himself, refused to submit to the authority of the council, being supported by the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*; for whose fidelity to the council the emperor made himself answerable. *Zafarella*, who had been made bishop and cardinal of *Florence* by *John*, was highly instrumental in persuading him to his first abdication; and he and the *Florentines* continued afterwards to do him eminent services. The council

cil proceeded next to the election of a new pope, and this choice fell upon *Otto*, or *Otho Colonna*, of a noble *Roman* family, who assumed the name of *Martin V.* of whom the *Florentine* historian gives this character, that before his election he was esteemed rather generous than wise, but after it he gave the greatest proofs of his wisdom, but was far from being excessive in his generosity. The rest of the transactions of this council, which was noted for the infamous murders of *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, are well known to the public, and have no relation to this work.

Pope Martin comes to Florence ;

THE election of *Martin* into the papal see was extremely agreeable to the *Florentines*; and upon the breaking up of the council, he came from *Constance* by the way of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, and *Forli*, to *Florence*, where he resided for two years, as being the most commodious place for negotiating the affairs of the church, and the states of *Italy*. The self-deposition of pope *John*, who now resumed his former name of *Cossa*, had not procured him his liberty; for he languished long after in prison. At last he was delivered by the generous interposition of the *Florentines*, who made *Martin* sensible, that it was by no means for his interest to use him with farther rigour. Several of the states who had acknowledged *Cossa* as pope, being dissatisfied both with the emperor and the council, began to entertain scruples about the validity of his abdication, as being extorted by force. It was easy to foresee the consequences of those doubts, in a country so disaffected to the emperor as *Germany*, where *Cossa* was imprisoned, then was; and *Martin* himself procured his deliverance from his confinement in *Bavaria*, and invited him to *Florence*, with a secret view of seizing upon him on his journey, and shutting him up in perpetual imprisonment at *Mantua*. *Cossa* arriving in *Lombardy*, was informed by some of his *Florentine* friends, of *Martin's* intention; upon which he took refuge in the *Genoese* territories. After remaining there, in a most miserable plight, for some time, he was encouraged by the experience he had of the spirit of the *Florentine* people and government, to repair to that city, and without reserve to throw himself at *Martin's* feet, and to recognize his authority. No sooner was his approach known than the *Florentines*, in prodigious numbers, flocked out to meet and welcome him. The distressed appearance he made, served only to encrease their affection and compassion towards him; and he was introduced to the pope, with all *Florence* attending him as his intercessors and protectors. At last they persuaded *Martin*, that the only way to prevent any bad consequences from *Cossa's* party, would be to restore to him his

as does
Cossa.

his cardinal's hat, and to the exercise of his sacred functions, which *Martin* wisely agreed to, and *Cossa*, died about a year after.

WE have already seen, that *Braccio* was left by pope *John* governor of *Bologna*, where his service against the neighbouring states, who were encouraged and protected by that pope's enemies, was sharp and active; but he generally was victorious. The *Bolognese*, however, disliking the severity of his government, and his exactions, to which he was in some measure compelled by the poverty of that pope, took advantage of his absence to attempt a revolt; but before they could master the citadel, *Braccio* appeared before their gates, and obliged them to submit. Soon after, being called out to a fresh expedition against the *Riminians* and the *Perugians*, the *Bolognese* again revolted; but more unanimously and resolutely than they had done before. But *Braccio*, who had taken care to provide the citadel with a good garrison, and store of provisions, returned with incredible expedition; and, after a most obstinate dispute, he was beaten off, and was forced to commence a regular siege against the city. The citizens held out with great courage, till he was obliged to change the siege into a kind of blockade, by taking possession of all the avenues by which the city could receive any provisions; and then the magistrates sent him a deputation of their most respectable citizens, asking pardon for what had happened, and laying the blame upon the rabble, who had taken arms against their will. *Braccio*, with great seeming difficulty, again pardoned them, and obliged them to deliver fifty of their principal citizens as hostages for their future behaviour. In the mean while, hearing of the deposition of pope *John*, and the election of *Martin*, he sold *Bologna*, and all its dependencies, to the inhabitants for eighty thousand ducats, with which he paid and recruited his army, and bent all his efforts to the reduction of *Perugia*, his native city, which had expelled the *Neapolitan* garrison, and recovered its independency. The pretext was, that the *Perugians* had broken their league with the *Florentines*, and was governed by a faction, who had exiled *Braccio* and all its worthy citizens. Upon his approach the *Perugians* recalled the *Neapolitan* garrison, and took into their pay *Ursini*, who was by this time delivered from his imprisonment at *Naples*. *Braccio*, however, took his measures so well, that neither *Chicolini*, the *Neapolitan* general, nor *Ursini*, could throw themselves into *Perugia*; and the *Perugians* were distressed so greatly, that they sent deputies to the *Florentines* to mediate between them and *Braccio*.

Braccio. They accordingly sent a deputation to his camp, exhorting him to listen to an accommodation.

*Proceed-
ings of
Braccio.*

THOUGH *Braccio* was then the *Florentine* general, and acted by their authority, yet he had so long served in a kind of independent capacity, and he had so great a passion to be master of *Perugia*, that he, in fact, refused to desist from his enterprise, and dismissed the deputies with an unsatisfactory answer. He then proceeded to take all the adjacent forts and towns, and gave a total defeat to *Chicolini* and *Malatesta*, who were on their march to the relief of *Perugia*, both of them being taken prisoners. Upon this, the city was surrendered to *Braccio* and the other exiles, and he is said to have exercised the government of it with great lenity and justice.

THE *Florentines* beheld *Braccio's* successes with great indifference, as they were assured of his fidelity to their state, and that they could always controul him in any undue exercise of his power. But it we return to the other concerns of *Florence*, which had now no overgrown tyrant to dread.

*Designs of
the duke of
Milan,*

JOHN, the eldest son and successor of *Galeazzo*, having been assassinated by his subjects, was succeeded by his brother *Philip*, who resembled his father and grandfather in their qualities and ambition, and by some is said to have excelled them in both. He soon recovered the affairs of his family, then languishing and disordered through the weakness and divisions of his brother's ministers, and, like his ancestors, became formidable to *Florence*. *Philip*, having an eye upon *Genoa*, was encouraged to attempt making himself master of that noble city by the numerous *Genoese* exiles whom the *French* government and internal factions had driven to *Lombardy*. Before he entered upon this expedition, he so far conquered his natural aversion to the *Florentines*, that he sent a most splendid embassy to *Florence*, offering that state his friendship and alliance. No formal embassy had been sent for twenty years before from the court of *Milan* to the *Florentines*. ^a *Nicola de Uzano* was then the chief man of the *Florentine* state, and he was employed to treat with the *Milanese* ambassadors, whose instructions were to negotiate a new treaty between *Philip* and the *Florentines*; by which *Pannaro*, or the river *Magra*, were to be the boundaries, and beyond them neither the *Milanese* nor the *Florentines* were to extend their dominion. The *Florentines*, in general, were averse to this proposition, because the limits proposed by *Philip* for the boundary of the two states, plainly indicated his design upon *Genoa*. *Uzano*, however, and the wiser part of the *Floren-*

^a *BILLII Historia, ubi supra, p. 57.*

tines, who had experienced the sweets of peace, gave the Milanese ambassadors a most polite reception, and the treaty was concluded.

THOMAS FREGOZO was then doge of Genoa; who makes but being unable to make head against the duke of Milan, himself for want of money, he sold Leghorn, a place then in possession of the Florentines for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, most of which was spent in raising soldiers in the Florentine state. This was, by Philip, considered as a breach of the new-made treaty; but he dissimbled his resentment for the time. Carmignola was then both general and first minister of state to Philip, and conducted the expedition against Genoa so successfully, that the doge, being beaten both by sea and land, was obliged to surrender Genoa into Carmignola's hands; and Philip afterwards became master of all that sea-coast, to the great terror and amazement of the Florentines.

POPE Martin still remained at Florence; but, from what has Pope Marfallen from Aretin^b, he was by no means popular there, and tin's disaffrontive ballads were even sung under his windows in his content. hearing. Aretin then attended him, as he had done his predecessors, and it required all his address to keep his holiness in temper. But Brachio, who still acted in the character of Florentine general, having defeated all his enemies, and being now master of Perugia, was of the utmost importance to the pope, for recovering the towns and cities that had been dismembered from the Holy See, and possessed by separate tyrants. He was accordingly, with consent of the Florentine magistracy, appointed general to the pope. In a short time he reduced a Success of great number of those places; and it was in this campaign Brachio that the famous Nicolo Piccinino, then a common soldier, gave the first proofs of his military genius. His success obliged the tyrants of all the revolted places to apply to him for peace; and Brachio, to give the greater lustre to his own name and character, appointed Florence for the place of negotiation. Thither he repaired with a train and equipages suitable to a sovereign prince; and as such he was received not only by the Florentines^c, but by the pope himself. His historian has described the wonderful magnificence that reigned at Florence during his abode there, and the pompous jousts and tournaments he exhibited. His vast popularity, however, gave umbrage to the pope, who, by the advice of Sforza, who was at Florence at the same time, employed him in the reduction of

^b ARETIN, pag 259.
ubi supra, p. 563.

^c Vita Brachii, apud MURAT.

Bologna, which had once more asserted its independency. The views of his holiness, in giving *Braccio* this commission, were unknown to the *Florentines*, whose constant maxim was to suffer neither the pope nor any other prince to become too powerful in *Italy*. *Sforza* made *Martin* sensible that the *Florentines* would oppose the growth even of the papacy itself; and persuaded him, that he had now an opportunity of adding to the Holy See the kingdom of *Naples*, which was governed by a weak silly woman, to the great disgust of the *Neapolitans*.

Faction-
at Fl -
rence

BRACHIO, who seems to have had a good deal of vanity in his composition, accepted of his new commission with great joy; and the *Florentines*, who now thought themselves at peace with all the world, applied assiduously to cultivate learning and the fine arts, and were therefore the less solicitous about an army within their territories. According to *Machiavel*^d, the citizens went in authority to *Nicola de Uzano*, were *Bartolomeo Valore*, *Neri Nigi*, *Reinaldo Albizi*, *Neri di Gino*, and *Lupo Nicolini*. Of the other hand, the families in disgrace were the *Alberti*, the *Ricci*, and *de Medici*. But the long possession of power, and the continuance of a voluptuous peace, had by this time so far infected the *Florentine* government, that their magistrates became proud, insolent, and negligent. They were, it is true, united in their sentiments of civil independency, and, in general, were well affected to their constitution. But the vast riches they possessed had introduced amongst them a spirit of pride, that is incompatible with the manners of republicans. Each great man envied another, and was glad to throw upon his brother-magistrate the blame of every abuse in the state. By those mutual jealousies, the *Florentines* at last conceived a distaste at their government, which laid the first foundations of the greatness of the house of *Medici*, who had always been moderate in their sentiments of civil affairs, and soon after became sovereigns of the state. The disgraced families soon perceived the vast advantage which the misconduct of the governing party threw into their hands; and *Giovanni Ricci* was the first who had the courage to offer himself to be the patron and protector of the people. He was strenuously opposed by *Nicola de Uzano*; but his greatness had created so much jealousy amongst the other magistrates, that he was not listened to. The animosity against him was greatly favoured by the progress of *Philip* duke of *Milan*; and he was falsely, perhaps, accused of being the chief instrument of concluding the treaty between *Philip*

where the
Medici
gain
ground.

^d MACHIAVEL, book iv.

and the *Florentines*. According to *Machiavel**, in the pacification he made with the doge of *Genoa*, he reserved *Sarzana*, and some other towns on the side of the *Magra*, next to *Florence*, in his own possession; which the *Florentines* complained of as a breach of their treaty with him. The magistracy of *Florence* would willingly have winked at this infraction; but the people would not suffer them. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made against entering into war with a prince so powerful as *Philip*, and the impossibility of keeping any of the conquests they could gain from him, while the *Romagna* lay between the two states, preparations for war were resolved upon, levies made, and the ten field-deputies nominated. No sooner was this resolution approved of, than the people, feeling the weight of the taxes that were necessary for carrying on the war, redoubled their murmurs against the government. *Ordelauff*, the lord of *Forli*, dying about this time, had left his son under the tutelage of *Philip* duke of *Milan*; but the mother, disliking such a guardian, sent her child to her father *Luigi Alidosso*, lord of *Imola*. This incensed the inhabitants of *Imola* so greatly, that they obliged the mother to put her son into the hands of the guardian appointed by the father; and thus *Philip* became master of that state. This new acquisition of power to *Philip* renewed the jealousy of the *Florentines*. Great debates were held about the expediency of declaring war against him, which *John de Medici* earnestly opposed. He thought, that, as *Philip* had not as yet proceeded to hostilities, the *Florentine* allies would look upon them as the aggressors, if they should declare war. The opposite party held forth the folly of making their own country the scene of war, with a prince who they were sure was their enemy. The opinion of the latter prevailed, and a war was resolved upon.

PHILIP, having intelligence of this, immediately sent *Agnolo* of *Pergola* at the head of an army against the lord of *Imola*, in order to divert him from succouring *Forli*. It was then the depth of winter; and the waters of the ditches, which formed the chief defence of the place, being frozen, *Agnolo* took the city, and sent *Alidosso* prisoner to *Milan*. Upon this the *Florentines*, who had now completed their levies, laid siege to *Forli*; while *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, unable to succour it, belieged *Zoganara*, in hopes that the *Florentines* would raise the siege of *Forli*, in order to relieve the former. Count *Alberigo* was then in the pay of the *Florentines*; and

* MACHIAVEL, book iv.

who af-
fronts the
Florentine
ambassa-
dor.

the reduction of *Florence*. He had taken into his pay *Angelo*, or *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, and *Carmignola*, both of them able officers, the latter of whom was then in the *Bolognese*, endeavouring to reduce *Bologna*, which had submitted itself to pope *Marlin*; by the persuasion of *Bentivoglio*, its late master. *Philip* had likewise been very successful in extending his frontiers towards *Savoy* and the foot of the *Alps*. Being a complete master of dissimulation, he sent an honourable embassy to *Florence* to treat of peace; but neither side being sincere, hostilities still went on, and the *Florentines* in vain endeavoured to retake *Forli*. This induced them to name ambassadors on their parts; and they committed the management of the negociation to *Bartolomeo Valori*, a man by no means suited for such an employment, being vain and ostentatious (C). When he came to *Lodi*, he was given to understand, from *Philip*, that he must advance no farther into *Lombardy*, under pretence of the plague's being at *Florence*. This was a dreadful check to *Valori*, who returned directly to *Florence*, where, upon his arrival, every thing was in a flame, at the contemptuous treatment of their ambassador by *Philip*, who was then master of *Genoa*. *Fulgoso*, the late doge, was furnished by the *Florentines* with troops and money to attempt the recovery of that state; and he succeeded so far as to conquer a great part of the *Genoese* sea-coast, and to create a great deal of trouble to *Philip*. The *Florentines* seemed now resolved to risque the whole of their state against *Philip*, who had a secret eye to the crown of *Naples*. He addressed the pope, complaining of his partiality for the *Florentines*, whom he accused of fomenting dissensions between the legate and the people of *Bologna*. He prevailed so far, that the pope changed his legate, and substituted in his place one who was entirely in the interest of *Philip*. By this and other favourable circumstances, *Philip* regained his credit at *Bologna*, and acquired *Imola*, and a great many important places in the *Romagna*. At the same time he endeared to himself the *Malatesta* family; for having taken prisoner *Charles*, the lord of *Rimini*, he treated him and all his friends in the most generous affectionate manner, and dismissed them without ransom.

(C) *Billius*, the *Milanese* historian, says that the *Florentines* at this time, to recommend themselves to the *Italian* and other states, embroidered upon

their arms and ensigns the ancient *Roman* inscription, S. P. Q. R. thereby intimating, that the state of *Florence* was the true representative of old *Rome* (1).

(1) *Billius*, ubi supra, p. 64.

DURING this gloomy state of the *Florentine affairs*, and *The Flo-*
when *Philip* had actually invaded their dominions, they re-
ceived some relief, by being befriended by *Antonio*, lord of *Faenza*; and, according to the *Milanese* historian, *Philip's* ge-
nerals, particularly *Agnolo*, was not fond of putting an end *Antonio of Faenza*.
to the war. The causes, through which this event happened,
are variously related. The most probable are, that *Antonio*
had a personal dislike to *Philip*, and a kindness for the *Flo-*
rentines; which was increased by another event which took
place about the same time: for young *Odo*, and *Nicolo Pic-*
nino, after performing many important services to the *Floren-*
tines about *Arezzo* and the vale of *Mugelli*, were intirely de-
feated by the *Milanese* generals. *Odo* was killed on the spot;
but *Nicolo*, endeavouring to escape, was taken by the peasants,
and carried to *Faenza*, where he persuaded *Antonio* to declare
himself for the *Florentines* against *Philip*. Upon this the city
of *Florence*, by a public decree and deed, declared him the
chief of her allies, and sent a considerable body of her troops
to protect *Faenza* from the resentment of *Philip*. This in-
cident changed both the object and the scene of the war.
Philip was obliged to recal *Agnolo*; and the *Florentines*, glad
to remove the seat of war from their own country, gave the
command of their army to *Bernardino Tòrelli*, the *Milanese*
general, marched to fight him; and both armies came to a
battle near *Angleria*, in which the *Florentines* were defeated,
and their general taken prisoner, together with his chief
officers. *Aretin* himself seems to blame the *Florentine* ra-
paciousness and cruelty for this disaster, which was followed *Their ra-*
by another. *Nicolo Piccinino*, the best general they had then *paciousness*.
in *Tuscany*, thought his services very indifferently requited by
the *Florentines*, and complained, that his person was neither
regarded, nor his troops paid. As he was a soldier of fortune,
and of very mean original, the *Florentines* imagined that he
only wanted to raise his terms, and they disregarded his com-
plaints; so that, when the time of his service elapsed, he re-
turned first to *Cortona*, then to *Perugia*, and then entered into
the service of the duke of *Milan*.

THE *Florentines* now gave themselves up for lost. Their *They lose*
finances were exhausted. They had neither men nor generals *their*
to take the field, and their enemies were powerful. *Nicolo* *towns*.
took from them all their forts between *Bibienna* and *Arezzo*;
so that the *Florentines* had then no other resource but that of
again applying to the *Venetians*, who they thought were equally
interceded with themselves in opposing the growth of the duke

of *Milan's* power. *Philip* was sensible that the *Florentines* bore him no good will; and his chief general *Carmignola*, having left his service in disgust, was now at *Venice*, and took part with the *Florentines*. He had recourse to his usual arts; and perceiving that the *Venetians* were determined to unite themselves to the *Florentines*, he offered peace to the latter, provided they would break off the negociation; but the condition was rejected. He then offered the same terms to the *Venetians*; but met with a like repulse from them.

History of
the league
between
the *Floren-*
tines and
Vene-
tians.

THE head of the *Florentine* deputation at *Venice* at this time was *Lorenzo Rhdolphi*, a man of address and abilities, who found means to fix the doge in his interest; and he continued to be seconded by *Carmignola*, who, according to *Are-*
tin^b, had poison privately administered to him by *Philip's* order. The terms of agreement, after great difficulty, were at last settled between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*. The chief were, that the *Florentines* should furnish four thousand foot, and that they should conclude no separate peace without the knowledge and consent of the *Venetians*. The first effect of this confederacy was the *Venetians'* laying siege to *Brescia*, which alarmed *Philip* so greatly, that he recalled all his troops out of *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* were thereby left at liberty to divide their army. One part of it was sent to make good their engagements with the *Venetians*, and the other was employed in retaking the towns and forts between *Bibienna* and *Arezzo*. The condition of *Philip* at this time is a strong proof of the danger of a prince employing mercenaries. *Philip* was neither without troops nor money, and he had found means to engage in his service the best generals in *Italy*; for both *Sforza* and *Brachio* were now dead, the first being drowned, and the latter killed. But their animosities and avarice disconcerted his most important operations. *Brescia*, though a very strong city, and well provided with every thing for a good defence, surrendered to the *Venetians*; as did *Bergamo*, and many other places in *Lombardy*. He likewise yielded up *Forli* and *Imola*, much against the inclinations of the *Florentines*, to pope *Martin*, with all the towns and territories belonging to them. The pope then mediated a peace amongst the states at war, and employed the cardinal of *Bo-*
logna to conclude it. *Philip* was so ill served by his troops and generals, that he was forced to agree to all the terms prescribed by his enemies. The city of *Milan*, however, still stood by him, and had grown to such a height of power, that her inhabitants offered to furnish him with ten thousand horse

Danger of
mercenary
troops.

Peace pro-
posed.

and ten thousand foot, if he would continue the war against Venice and Florence. This offer for some time put a stop to the conclusion of the peace; but the Venetians preparing to and renew the war with more vigour than ever, it was at last concluded.

ACCORDING to Machiavel¹, this war was carried on between the Florentines and the Milanese with prodigious rancour. Braggio del Milano, governor of Monte Petroso, a little inconsiderable castle, being besieged by the Milanese, who had set fire to the place, rather than surrender, threw his moveables and children to the enemy, but chose himself to perish in the flames, though he was offered an honourable capitulation. The Milanese, admiring his magnanimity, sent his children and all his effects to Florence, where they were amply provided for at the public charge. He gives us another instance of the detestation of treachery in Agnolo, the Milanese and of general, when he appeared before Galera, a town or castle in the Romagna, where Zanobi del Pino was governor. Zanobi not only surrendered the place to him, without the smallest defence, but offered to conduct the Milanese army into Tuscany, where he might make war with more profit and safety. Agnolo's detestation of this proposal was such, that he delivered the traitor up to be punished by his own menial servants, who, for some days, gave him nothing but paper painted with snakes and serpents to eat; so that he died of hunger. According to the last peace concluded with Philip, the Florentines were put in possession of all the places that had been taken from them in the Romagna; but, by Machiavel's account, the whole of the war cost them the amazing sum of three millions and a half of ducats. This expence was but ill repaid by the re-acquisitions they had gained; while the Venetians, at the charge of the Florentines, were now in so rich and respectable a condition, that they became suspected by their allies; and this, according to the same author, was one of their main motives for making a peace.

DURING this war, which lasted from 1422 to 1427, the Florentine government had pursued every expedient they could devise for raising money, but, all being ineffectual, they at last laid a tax upon the properties and land estates of the subjects. This tax was called *catasto*; and Machiavel says, that it obliged every man possessed of an hundred florins to pay one half of them to the state. This, however, is to be understood with many restrictions. The value of the landed interest was known; and the plebeian part of the government,

¹ MACHIAVEL, book^{iv}.

which now prevailed in *Florence*, could easily raise the tax. It met, however, with a vigorous opposition; but was as strenuously supported by *John de Medici*, because it was to be levied by law, and could not be misapplied, to gratify the purposes either of avarice or revenge. * The landed interest and great men were obliged to submit; but the people sought to carry the matter to an unwarrantable length, by wanting to institute courts of inquiry upon those who for some time past had paid less than that assessment. This project was unjust, cruel, and impolitic, and as such opposed by *John de Medici*, whose principle always was moderation in matters of government. In the year 1428, the nobility and rich citizens, finding they could not remove from their own shoulders the weight of the public burdens, suggested to the officers who collected the revenue, that the *catasto* ought to extend to all cities and states subject to the *Florentines* ^k. This proposal, far from being disliked, was carried into execution; and the subjects of all the acquired territories were ordered to give up schedules of their estates, that they might be taxed to the *catasto*. This produced remonstrances from all those cities and states, pleading their original contracts with the *Florentines*, which left them to be taxed by themselves; and numerous deputies were sent from all quarters, to expose the iniquity of such proceedings. Those deputies, upon their arrival, and making known their business, were immediately put under confinement in *Florence*; so that the prisons there were filled with the principal inhabitants of *Pisa*, *Volterra*, *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Cortona*, and other places.

Complain-
ed of by
the cities.

The Vol- AMONGST those the *Volterrans* were the most clamorous,
terrans re- pleading, that, by their original contract, they ought to be
vols. considered rather as allies than subjects of *Florence*. One of the *Volterrann* deputies was *Justus*, a man, says our authority ^l, worthy to have lived in a better state, who counselled his countrymen and fellow-prisoners to make their submission to the *Florentines*, till better times should present themselves. This advice was followed, and the *Volterrann* deputies were suffered to return home. There he opened his mind to a very few of his intimate friends, particularly to one *Giovanni*, a fellow-president: and though all appearances of success were against them, they no sooner proclaimed liberty to their fellow-citizens than the *Florentine* governor was seized, and *Justus* was acknowledged as lord of *Volterra*.

* BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 117. MACHIAVEL, book iv.
^l BILLIUS, ibid.

WHEN this news reached the *Florentines*, who had held ^{but are} the *Volterrans* so cheap that they had not so much as kept a ^{with diff-} garrison in their city, they were not so much affected with the ^{culty re-} revolt, as alarmed at the example which it might set to the ^{duced.} other leading towns in their subjection. A council of the chief magistrates being held, some were generous enough to propose a remission of the tax, by adhering to the terms of the original stipulations. But this opinion was over-ruled by the party who were for the tax, and who represented, that, being at peace with the duke of *Milan*, they had nothing to fear in *Tuscany*. Two commissaries, *Rinaldo Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, were appointed to treat with the *Volterrans*; and, if they should find that impracticable, to reduce them by force. *Palla* was the most unexceptionable *Florentine* that could be employed in such a commission, because of the lenity he had always expressed towards the *Volterrans*, and the other states; so that the chief management of the affair was left to him, and he conducted it with great art. Knowing that *Justus*, the new lord of *Volterra*, being but a plebeian, was hated by the nobility and the richer citizens of *Volterra*, when he came within eight miles of that city, he prevailed with many such to give him a meeting at a little town called *Gambazio*, where he endeavoured to make them sensible of the folly of the *Volterrans*, in drawing upon themselves the resentment of the *Florentines*, whom they were unable to resist ^{m.} The *Volterrans* at first complained bitterly of the *Florentine* tyranny; but he promising to stand their friend in the *Florentine* government, for procuring a redress of their grievances, they all of them came over to his proposal, which was to employ their interest in bringing their city back to the subjection of *Florence*.

JUSTUS, sensible of the strong party formed against him, and of the *Florentine* power, applied for assistance to the neighbouring states. The *Siennese* excused themselves on account of their league with *Florence*; and *Paolo Guinigi*, then lord of *Lucca*, that he might re-ingratiate himself with the *Florentines*, to whom his conduct in the late war had given umbrage, sent his deputy prisoner to *Florence*. In the mean while, the *Florentine* commissaries had assembled all the troops they could out of the neighbouring garrisons and countries, and drew near to *Volterra*, to second the efforts of their friends within the place. *Justus*, perceiving he had now no resource but in his own valour, and the strength of the city, was preparing to make a vigorous defence, when the *Florentine* party

^m BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 118.

summoned, a meeting of the presidents and chief citizens, before whom they laid all that had passed between them and *Palla. Arcolano*, brother to *Giovanni*, was at the head of the *Florentine* party, and expatiated on the service they would do their country, and the reliance they might have on the gratitude of the *Florentine* government, who would put the management of the city into the hands of the nobility, if they would immediately dispatch *Justus*, and admit the *Florentine* commissaries, who were lying with an army before their gates.

*Justus of
Volterra
murdered.*

*Misery of
the Volterra-
rans.*

THIS meeting was so secretly held, that *Justus* knew nothing of it; and the company agreeing to *Arcolano's* proposal, he and some of his friends repaired to the palace, and drawing him into a private room, under pretence of business, they murdered him, after making a brave resistance, and desperately wounding two of the assassins. His death stunned his party so much, that *Arcolano* and his friends found no difficulty in opening their gates to the *Florentines*, who immediately repossessed themselves of *Volterra*. But the *Volterrans* were miserably deceived in their expectations; for the *Florentines*, now both hating and despising them, obliged them to pay the *catasso* to the rigour. Their nobility were treated in the same manner as their plebeians, their territory was dismembered from their city, and their few remaining privileges were abolished.

*Rise of the
Florentine
war
against
Lucca.*

AMONGST the other officers employed by the *Florentines* in their war was *Nicolo*, nephew by the sister to *Braccio*, whose name he assumed, and is therefore distinguished by the title of *Fortebraccio*. He had served in *Lombardy*; and upon the conclusion of the peace between *Florence* and the duke of *Milan*, he was so far from disbanding the troops he commanded, that he increased them, under pretence of asserting some family-rights in the duchy of *Spoleto*, of which he was a native. He was, however, again employed by the *Florentine* commissaries in the réduction of *Volterra*; and when that was completed, it was supposed, according to *Machiavel*, that *Rinaldo de Albizi* persuaded him to make an inroad into the *Lucques*, out of the hatred he bore to *Paolo Guinigi*.

*Death and
character
of John de
Medici.*

FLORENCE by this time had lost her noble and faithful patriot *John de Medici*, who bequeathed to his eldest son *Cosimo* an immense estate, and a double portion of his own spirit, patriotism, and moderation. The advice he gave his family upon his death-bed is full of the noblest sentiment

* MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.

† MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.

• ARÉTIN, pag. 262.

• Id. ibid.

of public virtue; and, after the days of *Atticus*, no private citizen perhaps was known to have steered his course so happily through contending factions, with so unexceptionable a character, and in possession of so great an estate. The last circumstance is a proof of the immense wealth which the *Florentine* nobility in those days acquired by trade; for *John* was generous to profusion, and charitable even to weakness. He inquired no farther into the character or circumstances of any man than his wants, which he no sooner knew than unsolicited he relieved them. The highest dignities of the state had been in a manner forced upon him; and by the benevolent turn of his natural temper, he was more apt to pity than punish offenders. His hands being free from corruption, as his heart was from ambition, he died in full possession of his country's love; where he owed his pre-eminence (a rare example in a popular state) not to his eloquence, which was but midling, but to his wisdom. He was succeeded, as we have already hinted, by his eldest son *Cosmo*, in his popularity as well as estate.

THERE is reason, from what has fallen from *Macchiavel*, ^{His son} and the other historians, for believing that *Cosmo* had a very ^{Cosmo} bad opinion of *Guinigi*; and though he was by no means on ^{joins} good terms with the *Albizi* family, he joined with *Rinaldo* and ^{against the} *Neri*, the son of *Caponi*, who had so great a hand in the reduction of *Pisa*, in privately exciting *Fortebraccio* to his attempt against the *Lucquesi*. *Fortebraccio* and his troops were then quartered at *Fucechio*, a town belonging to the *Florentines*; and marching from thence with his troops, consisting of three hundred horse and three hundred foot, in *November*, 1429, he surprised *Compito* and *Ruoti*, belonging to *Lucca*, and the latter not above eight miles distant from that city; all the territory of which he likewise plundered. *Guinigi* was intirely unprovided of troops, and complained to the *Florentines* of *Fortebraccio*'s attempt. They denied that he acted by their authority; and he pretended that what he had done was to indemnify himself for a sum owing by *Guinigi* to his uncle *Braccio*. *Guinigi*'s complaint to the *Florentines* had an effect very different from what he perhaps expected; for it filled the minds of the *Florentines* with the flattering hopes of easily mastering the strong and important city of *Lucca*. This spirit prevailing, the city ran into cabals, and the citizens breathed nothing but an immediate declaration of war against *Guinigi*. *Cosmo de Medici*, being yet unexperienced in the affairs of state, and probably thinking that he was doing service to his

* *BILLIUS*, ubi supra, p. 123.

Debates on
the expedi-
ency of
that war.

country, now openly joined the party that was for war. *Niccolò de' Uzzano* and his friends endeavoured to oppose the torrent, by laying before their countrymen the distressed state of the public credit; and that there was no money in what they called their mount, or public exchequer. They shewed how dishonourable it would be, without provocation, to make war on a prince whom they had lately ranked amongst their chief allies; and how impolitic, in their present exhausted state, to attempt the conquest of so powerful a city as that of *Lucca*. But those and many other arguments had no weight with the body of the *Florentines*. The public cry was, that *Guinigi* was the only tyrant now remaining in *Tuscany*; that he had always favoured the *Florentine* enemies, and had sent his son to serve under the duke of *Milan* during the late war. This warlike party was assisted by applications made to them from the inhabitants of *Pescia* and *Vico*, two towns belonging to *Florence*, for leave to take possession of such castles as were offered to be surrendered to them; and assuring the *Florentines*, that nothing could be more easy than for them to conquer *Lucca*, and all its territory.

Negotia-
tions for a
peace.

THE party against the war were, however, so respectable for their wisdom and authority, that the public resolution was for some time kept in suspense; and *Guinigi* sent a fresh ambassador to *Florence*, to attempt a reconciliation. The person he sent was one *Viviano*, whom *Guinigi* had pardoned, after being capitally convicted of a conspiracy against him. But *Viviano's* resentment got the better of his gratitude, and, caballing with the party for a war, they were encouraged by him to push for a decisive resolution. For this purpose the magistracy or senate assembled a council, at which four hundred and ninety eight of the principal citizens appeared. The debate was begun by *Rinaldo de Albizzi*, who magnified the advantages a free people had over slaves, for such he said the *Lucquese* were, to a fellow subject of their own, who had always been an enemy to *Florence*. He then attempted to prove, that the reduced state of their commonwealth ought to be a strong argument for a war, in which their success was next to certain, because the acquisition of *Lucca* would check the designs which the pope or the duke of *Milan* might have against their liberties, and make them once more the umpires of *Italy*.

Arguments
for one.

NICOLA DE UZZANO opposed *Rinaldo* with great vigour, by shewing how affectionate the *Lucquese*, when they were not under the dominion of tyrants, had always been towards the *Florentines*; and that they could not make war on the tyrant, exclusive of the people; that every maxim of policy,

licy, as well as justice, pleaded for peace. They could expect no assistance from the *Venetians*, who were busied in settling their new acquisitions; and that the duke of *Milan*, pleased with seeing them engaged in a fresh war, which would finish the ruin of their finances, would either openly or secretly assist *Lucca*, which was so much his interest to keep them from possessing. Upon the whole, he concluded that the best conduct they could observe would be to remain quiet; in which case, it was more than probable, the *Lucchese*, tired of their tyrant, would put themselves under the protection of *Florence*; and he concluded by prophesying, that, by pursuing the war, they would precipitate their own ruin.

THERE was so much weight and justice in *Uzani's* reasoning, that the advocates for war had nothing to reply, but to call for a division, which gave the question in their favour by a majority of four hundred against ninety-eight. The ten field-deputies for the management of the war were then nominated; and two generals, *Astorre Ginuzzi* and *Rinaldo Albizi*, were appointed to command the troops; but it was likewise agreed, that *Fortebraccio* should be taken into their service, and keep possession of the towns he had reduced. This proved to be a capital oversight, as neither of their generals were soldiers; and *Fortebraccio* was secretly dissatisfied, in not having the sole command. The expedition however was so popular, that they soon raised an army of about two thousand, besides the troops which served under *Fortebraccio*.

GUINIGI, seeing the storm ready to break upon him, filled all *Italy* and the greatest part of *Christendom* with invectives against the *Florentine* breach of faith; but he chiefly applied to the pope, the duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, for the justice of his cause. *Philip* was the only power who gave ear to his complaints. *Billius*, who was a noble and learned *Milanese*, and wrote at that time, tells us, that *Philip* was the principal instrument of the war, and that he himself had seen at *Sienna* letters from that duke to the *Florentines*, promising them his assistance, which he did only with a view of fomenting a war that might weaken both parties.

THE incapacity of the *Florentine* generals to command an army soon appeared. Leaving *Florence*, they divided their army, *Astorre* taking the command of one part, and *Rinaldo* of the other. *Astorre* marched with his division towards *Camagione* and *Pietrasanta*; while *Rinaldo* kept the heights with his. They proceeded, wherever they came, not only impoli-

* *Billius*, ubi supra, pag. 125.

tically, but brutally. *Astorre* arriving at *Seravezza*, or *Salto della Serpa*, a fine rich populous vale in the neighbourhood of *Pietrafanta*, the inhabitants, who being *Guelphs*, had long disliked *Guinigi's* government, offered to submit to that of *Florence*. *Astorre* pretending to receive their submissions, ordered the inhabitants to assemble in the great church, where, surrounding them with his troops, he told them they were his prisoners. He then let loose his soldiers, who plundered their lands, violated their wives and daughters, and were guilty of the most horrible outrages in their country, not even sparing their churches. Some of the *Seravezzesi*, however, found means, though with difficulty, to escape to *Florence*, where they represented their case in so moving a manner, that the *Florentines* recalled *Astorre*, condemned and admonished him.

RINALDO DE ALBIZI fell under the public suspicion at the same time; for the *Florentines* observed, that though he had been the principal patron of the war, he had been so remiss in pursuing it, that he seemed to mind nothing but enriching himself at the expence of the defenceless or conquered *Lucquese*. This coming to the ears of *Rinaldo*, whose impetuosity and pride were boundless, he came without leave to *Florence*, where he presented himself before the ten deputies, and with bitter upbraidings of their and his country's ingratitude, he resigned his commission. The council of ten did not venture to punish a man of his eminence; but gave the command of their army to *Neri di Gino, Caponi's* son, and *Mananno Salviati*, who made dispositions for acting with vigour against the enemy. *Guinigi* all this while was not wanting to himself. Being master of great sums of money, he raised troops in all quarters, and applied to the *Siennese* for their assistance, or if that could not be obtained, for their mediation. The *Siennese*, equally dreading the progress, and detesting, the cruelty of the *Florentines*, undertook the latter office, and sent *Antonio Francisco* to mediate a peace between them and the *Lucquese*. But the former were now so bent upon the conquest of *Lucca*, that his negotiation came to nothing, and the *Siennese* applied to the *Venetians* for their good offices. Their answer was, that they knew nothing of the *Siennese*, farther than that they had been included in the late peace; and they returned to *Sienna* without effecting any thing. Upon this *Antonio Francisco*, who was a young nobleman of great spirit and interest, left *Sienna*; and, in conjunction with one of *Guinigi's* nephews, raised a large body of troops, who threw themselves into *Lucca*. Amongst others they paid thirty thousand ducats by way of advance money to

Raineria

The Luc-
quese pre-
pare for
war.

Ramerio of *Perugia*, who, having received the sum, betrayed them and went over to the *Florentines*, who, by the like sum, as is said, engaged him and three hundred horse in their service.

THOUGH this defection greatly incommoded *Guinigi*^b, yet *Lucca* ^{be-} he now found himself in a condition to make a vigorous defence. For this purpose, he hired of the *Spaniards* six galleys, and many smaller vessels for disappointing all the efforts of his enemies by water. The new *Florentine* generals, on the other hand, changing the plan of operations laid down by their predecessors, advanced to *Campanole* against *Lucca*; and their army, being now greatly increased, they surrounded it, but without forming a regular siege; and burned or ravaged all the country round.

MANY of the *Italian* historians mention the *Florentines* as being severe and rapacious masters of their acquired dominions, and perhaps they are not the only republicans who are charged in history on the same account. It is certain, that their behaviour to the *Pisans* and *Valterrans* gave the *Lucqueses* a greater abhorrence of their government than they entertained for that of their tyrant, as they and the other *Italian* republics affected to call *Guinigi*. The ravages committed in their territories were far from allaying this spirit in the *Lucqueses*, and they promised to hold out against their enemies to the last extremity. *Guinigi* had two sons; the eldest, *Pondolfo*, was legitimate, the other natural; but, like the rest of the *Italian* princes of those days, he made little or no distinction on that account. To the former he committed the care of defending the city, and to the other, the conduct of the sallies, which were frequent and generally successful. The *Florentines* were provided with a kind of artillery, which, by the force of gunpowder, discharged large stones; but the *Lucqueses*, perceiving that they did very little execution, came at last to despise them, and every day renewed their sallies, ^{Intro-} to the great slaughter of their enemies, by the help of mus- ^{tror of} quets, or small fire arms, to which the *Florentines* were stran- ^{small fire-} gers, and which, before this siege, were not known in *Italy*, though perhaps they were in other parts of *Europe*. The reader, in the notes, will find a curious and a natural description from *Billius* (A) of those dreadful implements of war,

^b BILLIUS ubi supra, p. 126.

(A) *Preter jacula, & sagittarum balistas, novum quoque teligenus invenerunt: gerebant manibus fustem cubiti, & alterius dimidit longum; hunc suffixa erant cannae ferreae, quibus item sulphure, ac nitro*

war, which are now become so common, and of the execution they did upon the *Florentines*. It was such as encouraged the besieged to redouble their sallies upon the besiegers; whose army was divided into two camps; from both of which they were driven by the besieged, and one of the *Florentine* generals narrowly missed being made a prisoner. He was rescued by *Cardano*, one of the chief officers; but the besieged carried off with them four great guns (cannon we suppose are meant) called by our author *bombardæ*: a great number of prisoners were likewise made.

The *Florentines* baffled in the siege of Lucca.

THE issue of that day at last convinced the *Florentines*, that it was impossible for them to master the city in the manner the siege was carried on. The bitter weather was now approaching; and neither the *Florentine* generals, nor the field-deputies, could prevail with the soldiers to leave the villages in the neighbourhood, and to encamp so near the walls as to block up the city. *Philip Bruneleschi*, who is so famous for reviving in *Europe* the true principles of architecture, and erecting in *Florence* edifices that, to this day, are master-pieces in that art, was then in the *Florentine* camp; and he gave it as his opinion, in which he was joined by the general officers, that it was possible to turn the course of the river *Serchio*, so as to drown *Lucca*. As he was looked upon to be the best engineer of that age, his proposal, however romantic it appeared, might have proved successful, could the *Florentine* army have been prevailed upon to encamp near enough to the city, to have interrupted the dispositions made by the besieged, for defeating *Bruneleschi*'s plan, which was to have turned the course of the *Serchio*, by means of a strong mound, so as by the lateral pressure of its waters, to have borne down the walls, or by their rising to have overflowed them. The *Lucquesse* perceived his design, and raised a mound parallel to his, between their walls and the diverted course of the river, which served as a bulwark to the city, and when the waters were raised to a proper height between the two mounds, the besieged, dividing their forces, sent one part in the night-time to attack that part of the *Florentine* camp that lay nearest the mound, and armed the other part with all kinds of instruments for digging and boring, by which they broke down and pierced the *Florentine* mound, so as to overflow all the

micro oppletis, globulos ferreos vi quin sæpi duos aut et tertium, ignis emittebant. Certa erat in si per ordinem occurrerent, una idem, si tetigisset, perniciēs; nec glande transfoderent (1). arma, aut scuta satis tegebant,

(1) *Billius, ubi supra, pag. 127.*

grounds on which the besiegers were encamped, which made it impracticable again to approach the city on that side.

THE Florentine field-deputies, and their magistracy, vexed at the losses and disgraces they had received in the course of *city of* this siege, sent *Giovanni Guicciardini* to take upon him the Guinigi. sole command, and his authority prevailed with the soldiers to encamp nearer the town. It is probable, that this new general would not have been more successful than his predecessors had been, could *Guinigi's* treasures have held out. But, great as they were, they were now exhausted, and he was obliged to use some unseasonable severities upon the citizens to raise more; upon which a conspiracy was formed against him within the walls. *Guinigi* was not insensible of his own danger; and, by the advice of *Antonio of Sienna*, who had been incredibly active for the *Lucquese*, he sent *Silvestro Trenta* and *Luigi Bonvisi* (B) to *Milan*, to implore that duke's assistance. Those ambassadors were of the number of the conspirators against him; and indeed the noble defence the *Lucquese* made, was not owing to any affection they had for *Guinigi*, but to the aversion they had to the *Florentines*.

THE latter had all along been distrustful of *Philip's* conduct; and they had at this very time deputies at his court to watch it, and to keep him at least firm in his neutrality. *Philip* answered both them and the *Lucquese* only in general terms, and seemed unwilling to take any concern in the fate of *Lucca*. Upon this the *Lucquese* deputies applied privately to him; and laying before him the state of the siege and their city, they told him, that rather than it should fall into the hands of the *Florentines*, if he would support them with a proper force, the citizens would depose *Guinigi*, and put themselves under his (*Philip's*) protection. Even this encouragement did not drive *Philip* from his usual caution. He refused to declare himself on either side; but he managed matters so, that *Sforza*, who then commanded his troops, and had in his own pay a considerable body, should publicly demand his leave to march upon an expedition to *Naples*. This was obtained, and *Sforza*, having settled every thing relating to his pay, and the number of his troops, both with *Philip* and the *Lucquese*, pointed his march directly towards *Tuscany*.

The Lucquese obtain assistance from the duke of Milan.

(B) We have followed *Macchiavel's* account here; but, according to *Billiur*, the plan of *Sforza's* march into *Tuscany* had been before concerted with *Antonio*, who was in disguise at the court of *Milan*.

His policy. THIS management was not so secret as to be concealed from *Boccaccio Alaman*i, the *Florentine* resident at *Milan*, who put his principals upon their guard. All they could do was to raise new troops, and to fortify the passes into their country, which proved no obstacle to *Sforza*. His march, however, was retarded when he came to the foot of the *Appennines*, by *Philip*'s usual caution, who wanted to see in what light the *Venetians* would consider his conduct^c. Perceiving they did not move, he ordered *Sforza* to proceed.

*Sforza
raises the
siege of
Lucca.*

THE *Florentines* were in hopes of carrying *Lucca* before his arrival, and pressed the siege with more vigour than ever; but were as vigorously repulsed. At last *Sforza*, at the head of three thousand veteran troops, forced his way over the *Appennines*, and, carrying all before him, appeared in sight of the *Florentine* army, which immediately raised the siege, and retired to an advantageous camp at *Librafratta*, lying at an equal distance between *Pisa* and *Lucca*. *Sforza* upon this demolished all the works that had been raised by the besiegers, and entered *Lucca* in triumph, where he was received as their deliverer and guardian, by *Guinigi* and the inhabitants; and, at *Antonio*'s request, the arrears due to *Sforza* were paid, tho' it drained *Guinigi* of the small remainder of his money. A council of war being held, it was resolved to act upon the defensive, and *Sforza* marched with his army towards *Pistoia*, where he took and demolished *Bugiano*, a fortified town, and then laid siege to *Pescia*, a town of the greatest importance to the safety of *Florence* itself. *Pagolo Diaceto*, governor of the place, abandoned it and fled to *Pistoia*.

*Dismal
state of the
Florentines,*

IT is certain, that the affairs of the *Florentines* wore at this time a melancholy aspect. Their ill success in the field had increased the people's animosities against their magistrates. Their generals were without military talents, and divided amongst themselves. They were hated by many, not only of the neighbouring states, but of their own dependencies; and they had not an ally whom they could trust. Their public money was exhausted; and nothing but the feeble interposition of *Pescia* could keep *Sforza* from marching to the gates of *Florence*. Their dangers, however, existed rather in appearance than in reality. *Sforza*'s secret instructions did not authorize him to act offensively against the *Florentines*, after the siege of *Lucca* was raised; and he had undertaken the expedition against *Pescia* only for the sake of plunder, and because he knew he could raise no more money at *Lucca*. The *Florentines* knew all this; and while *Malevolto*, who was

^c BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 129.

next in command to the governor, held out *Pesca*, the siege all of a sudden was relaxed, and then finally raised. *Machiavel* himself does not deny that this happened through the prevalence of money proffered by the *Florentines* to *Sforza*; for though the republic of *Florence* was then poor, many of its private citizens were immensely rich. The *Florentines*, who were in the secret negotiation, were so confident of the power of money upon a mercenary general, that they were in hopes to prevail upon *Sforza*, not only to raise the siege of *Pesca*, but to deliver into their hands *Lucca* itself. *Sforza* ^{and buy off} being a man of honour in his profession, excused himself *Sforza*, from the latter part of the bargain, but accepted of fifty thousand crowns for raising the siege of *Pesca*, promising to withdraw his protection from *Lucca* while it was governed by *Guinigi*, and to join in any measures that might be taken for deposing him. The bargain was actually struck, and *Sforza* evacuated the *Florentine* territories; and returning to the *Lucquesse*, he encamped without that city (A).

THE *Florentines*, by their agreement with *Sforza*, were at liberty to practise every art against the *Lucquesse*; and they made use of some that, perhaps, were unwarrantable. *Antonio* and *pro-* *curio* of *Sienna* was then in the city; and the *Florentines* em- ^{cure the de-} ^{possession}ployed crafty agents to carry letters in their names, some of them directed to *Guinigi*, and others to the chief citizens who were dissatisfied with his government. The agents carrying letters to the citizens suffered themselves to be intercepted by *Guinigi*, and the letters directed to *Guinigi* were suffered to fall into the hands of the citizens. By the contents of the former, the citizens were rendered suspected to him; and in the letters directed to him, the *Florentines* wrote in a strain which implied that a treaty was far advanced between him and them; and that he was to put the city into their hands, upon their paying him two hundred thousand crowns: mention was likewise made, in several of the letters intercepted by the citizens, as if *Guinigi* had agreed to put *Antonio* to death; and those being shewn to *Antonio*, made him resolve upon the destruction of *Guinigi*.

So complicated a scene of deceit must have been ineffectual, could *Guinigi* and the citizens have come to an expla-

(A) The account given by *Machiavel* of the important transaction that followed *Sforza's* return to the *Lucquesse* is very unsatisfactory, and leaves us entirely in the dark as to the motives and springs of the revolution which took place. We are, therefore, obliged to supply it from *Billius*, and other contemporary authors.

and impri-
sonment of
Guinigi.

nation; but they were too distrustful of one another for that to take place; and thus each secretly meditated the ruin of the other. The event was, that *Antonio* and about forty other citizens surprized *Guinigi* in the night-time in the citadel, where he thought himself secure; and, after upbraiding him with his government, deprived him of the keys of the castle, and put him under arrest, as *Sforza* did his son *Pandolfo*, who was in his camp. Both of them were sent prisoners to *Milan*, where they died under their confinement.

The Ge-
noese de-
clare
against the
Floren-
tines.

It must be acknowledged, that notwithstanding all the various arts the *Florentines* had employed against the *Lucquese*, they failed in their design, which was that of reducing them to subjection. It is plain, that they had been outwitted by *Sforza*; and yet they could not complain of his having deceived them. According to some authors, he received thirty-five thousand crowns more from the *Florentines*, with a promise of fifteen thousand besides, at the expiration of three months, if he and his troops remained inactive during that time. He accordingly drew off his army to *Mirandola*, and left the defence of the *Lucquese* to themselves; to which, in their reduced condition, they were very unequal. They were so sensible of their weakness, that they sent public letters to the *Florentines*, that they were now free from their tyrant whom the *Florentines* had made their pretext for the war; that they were willing to yield to the *Florentines* some marks of superiority, provided they were left to the full enjoyment of their own laws and liberties. The *Florentines*, being now delivered from the fear of *Sforza*, rejected this equitable offer, on pretence that the complexion of the war was altered from what it was originally; and that it had cost them so much blood and treasure, that they would be contented with nothing less than the entire subjection of the *Lucquese*. This infamous condition was rejected, and the *Lucquese* prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, as the *Florentines* did to renew the siege. *Antonio* of *Sienna*, knowing that his country would fall the next sacrifice to the *Florentines*, should they become masters of *Lucca*, went on board a vessel to *Genoa*, which was then governed by the archbishop of *Milan* for *Philip*; tho', in other respects, the *Genoese* still were in full possession of their laws and properties; and a vast number of them were immensely rich. These he addressed for assistance against the *Florentines*, against whose ambition and injustice he bitterly inveighed; but without pretending to engage the duke of *Milan* in the quarrel. The preservation of *Lucca* from falling into the hands of the *Florentines*, was of the utmost consequence to the *Genoese*, who promised *Antonio*, that

that if the duke of *Milan* would give them leave they would assist the *Lucqueses* with their good offices; and if those should fail, with their arms. This favourable answer was owing to their hopes of recovering *Leghorn* from the *Florentines*, who had bought it from *Fulgo*. They sent a deputation to *Florence*, in terms which offended the *Florentines*; for they not only required them to desist from their war with *Lucca*, but insisted upon the restitution of *Leghorn*. Their answer was equally disagreeable to the *Genoese*, whom they said they could not consider as a free people, but as subjects to the duke of *Milan*; and that therefore they could not treat with them as an independent state. Upon which the *Genoese* deputies, in great rage, mounted their horses and left *Florence*. Upon their return to *Genoa*, and reporting the success of their commission, the *Genoese* came immediately to a resolution of declaring war against the *Florentines*, and of employing *Nicolo Piccinino* for their general; all which they did with the approbation and connivance of the duke of *Milan*.

THE *Florentines* had intelligence of this new storm that *Dissembla-* threatened them, and took into their pay a body of fourteen hundred horse belonging to *Guido* of *Favuzza*, appointing, at the same time, the count of *Urbino* to be general of this army, though he was very unequal to that command. The *Florentine* deputies at *Venice* did not fail to represent to that senate, that the duke of *Milan* was at the bottom of all that management, and how dangerous it would be to their state if he should obtain the sovereignty of *Tuscany*, which he aimed at. The *Venetians* upon this complained to *Philip*, who, with his usual dissimulation, told them that he had lent the *Genoese* a body of troops; that it was the same thing to him whether they assisted the *Lucqueses* or the *Florentines*, for he was sensible they aimed at nothing but to defend themselves. To confirm what he said, he sent the *Venetians* a copy of his convention with the *Genoese*, by which he left them at entire liberty to join with whom they pleased. The *Venetians* appeared, or seemed to appear, satisfied with this answer, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentines*.

By this time *Piccinino*, who had taken the command of the *Genoese* army, marched to relieve *Lucca*, again besieged by the *Florentines*, who, upon his approach, abandoned the siege, and entrenched themselves on the banks of the *Serchio*. Their army was computed to be five thousand horse and three thousand foot, all hired troops, and ten thousand *Florentines*; a proof of the intrinsic riches of the subjects of that state, notwithstanding the vast expences and losses they had

sustained, and the low condition of their finances. But though their numbers were superior to those of *Piccinino's* army, his reputation was so high that the *Florentines* durst not face him. His first care was to retake some of the *Lucquesse* forts and castles that had fallen into the hands of the *Florentines*, and then he faced his enemy for one day, which he employed in searching for a ford across the river, and in cutting off their provisions by water, of which he had plenty, by means of barks attending his army. A ford was at last discovered, and, though dangerous, attempted by *Piccinino*. Had the *Florentines* been but tolerably well commanded, their enemies must have failed in their attempt, and the best part of their army been destroyed. But the *Genoesse* and *Lucquesse* met no opposition in passing the river, but from a few troops commanded by the young lords of *Faenza* and *Perugia*; for *Urbino*, the *Florentine* general, upon the first appearance of danger, fled to *Pisa*; and the *Florentines*, being now without a head, to *Florence*.

The *Florentines*
defeated.

THOUGH the *Italian* historians have most pompously described this passage, and the battle that ensued, yet it does not appear that a dozen of men were killed on either side; but about two hundred new-raised men, in the precipitancy of their flight, were drowned in the river. A great many men and horses, however, were taken, but most of the former were dismissed by *Piccinino*.

Piccinino's
success.

WHEN the news of this defeat was carried to *Florence*, the inhabitants imagined *Piccinino* to be already at their gates. But they were mistaken as to his instructions, which were limited to the relief and defence of *Lucca*, and regaining its dependencies from the *Florentines*; all which he effected, besides furnishing the inhabitants with large magazines of provisions from his ships. On his return to *Genoa*, however, he received orders to take several places upon which the *Genoesse* had pretensions, particularly *Pontremoli*, a place so important, that it is accounted the barrier of the *Apennines* towards *Genoa*: in all which he succeeded. By the taking of *Pontremoli*, all communication was cut off between the *Genoesse* exiles and the *Florentines*, and the *Genoesse* obtained a ready entrance into *Tuscany*.

Dissemination
of the
Florentines,

NOTWITHSTANDING the departure of *Piccinino*, the *Florentines* were so far from renewing hostilities against *Lucca*, that they became apprehensive that the states of *Tuscany* would form a league against themselves. They knew that they were hated by the *Siennese*, who had lately made a league with the pope, and had raised troops; and that several states, besides those within *Tuscany*, would readily enter
into

into such a confederacy. The *Florentines* disssembled all; and, as if they had been upon the best terms with *Sienna*, they not only sent thither a deputation, but prevailed with the *Venetians* to send another to negotiate the renewal of the ancient leagues between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*. The latter, who were already in treaty with the *Lucchese*, were surprised at this proposition; and, in a separate conference their magistrates had with the *Venetian* deputies, they inveighed so bitterly and so speciously against the *Florentines*, that the *Venetians* returned home without farther interposition. During this negotiation the *Siennese* unanimously chose *Antonio*, who had been so active against the *Florentines*, for their chief magistrate; upon which the *Florentine* deputies hastily left *Sienna*; and, to impose upon the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass, they adorned themselves with olive branches, by which they got safe to *Florence*. They were scarcely arrived there, when a triple league was proposed between the duke of *Milan*, the *Genese* (who affected a shew of independency) and the *Siennese*.

THE *Florentines* sought to counterbalance this league by who make a new one with the *Venetians*; but the latter had rea- a league sons for not provoking *Philip*, and therefore declined the with Ve- proposal. The *Florentines* then applied to *Sforza*, as the *Ve-* nice. *netians* did, at the same time, to take the command of their armies; but he refused to leave the service of the duke of *Milan*, to whose natural daughter he was already contracted, and whom he afterwards succeeded in his dominions. Pope *Martin V.* the great restorer of the papal dignity in *Italy*, being now dead, was succeeded by *Eugene IV.* a *Venetian*, who joined himself to the *Ursini* against the friends of the late pope, and thereby a kind of civil war ensued in the state of the church. He was generally thought to be the son of the antipope *Gregory XII.* and, at his accession to the papedom, he formed the design of renewing the league between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, to counterbalance the duke of *Milan's* power; and the confederacy accordingly took place. *Philip* coming to know of this fresh conjunction, ordered some troops which lay at *Pontremoli* to fall into *Tuscany*, which they did under *Piccinino*, and penetrated so far into the *Florentine* dominions as to cut off all communication between *Florence* and *Pisa*.

THE *Florentines*, well knowing how ripe the *Pisans* were *Crashly to-* for a revolt, had recourse on this occasion to an inhuman, wards the but perhaps necessary, measure. The archbishop of *Pisa*, a *Pisans*. *Florentine*, had then the chief command in that city, and by order, no doubt, of the *Florentine* government, he made pro- clamations

clamation that all *Pisans*, between fifteen and sixty, should immediately leave the city. Being of a brutal nature, he himself was the executioner of this order; but retained the wives and children of the unhappy *Pisans* as pledges for their conduct. Notwithstanding this precaution, a plot was formed within the city for delivering the same up to *Picinino*, who daily presented himself before its gates; and the design was discovered, but by great accident^a. *Picinino*, however, conquered all the *Volterran* territory; and *Volterra* itself would have submitted to him, had he not been attended by a great number of the *Volterran* exiles, who were irreconcilably obnoxious to the governing party in the city.

Policy of
the duke of
Milan.

WHILE the triple league between *Philip*, the *Genoese*, and the *Siennese*, was depending, some of the young *Siennese*, without either authority or leader, made an irruption into the *Florentine* territory, where they burned down a castle. The news of this rash action arrived at *Milan*, while *Philip* was in conference with the deputies of the two republics, and in great perplexity, whether he should conclude the league or not. The adventure was no sooner related to him, than with joy in his countenance he ordered all that the *Siennese* deputies had requested to be granted them^b; a circumstance that well expresses his cautious character. Accordingly count *Alberigo* was ordered to put himself at the head of two thousand horse to join *Picinino*, that the *Tuscan* war might be carried on with decisive vigour. It soon appeared that the *Florentine* subjects had no aversion to put themselves under the protection of *Philip*, though they refused to submit to the *Siennese*; for the war being now carried on in *Philip's* name, many forts and castles readily submitted to his general. *Picinino* then marched to the valley of *Alsa*, the most beautiful and populous of any in *Italy*; and he was preparing to reduce *Staggia*, and the neighbouring forts, most of which belonged to private subjects of *Florence*, when he was encouraged to hope that he might easily make himself master of *Arezzo*, by means of a conspiracy within that city. It is said, not without great colour of truth, that the *Florentines* themselves were at the bottom of this suggestion, that they might draw him out of that country. It is certain, that *Picinino* was so intent on the conquest of *Arezzo*, that he burned all the preparations he had made for his other expedition, and marched directly to that city, the people, wherever he passed, presenting him with the keys of their towns and cas-

^a MACHIAVEL, book iv. BELLIVS, pag. 148.
Ibid, ubi supra,

^b BIL-

cles (B). When he came before *Arezzo*, he found he had been imposed on, and that no dispositions were made for giving up the city. Having waited for some days without any effect, the *Siennese*, and the other troops, pressed him to begin the siege, protesting that he would not return alive if they did not take it in four days. While *Picinino* was deliberating on this proposal, matters took an unexpected turn in *Lombardy*, and *Philip* sent an order for *Picinino* to return to *Milan*. So dreadful was *Picinino*'s name in *Tuscany*, that the *Florentines* considered his departure, though he was attended by no troops, and though *Alberigo* succeeded to his command, as a deliverance. They chose for their general *Michaletto*, who had been bred up under *Sforza*; and so greatly were they encouraged by *Picinino*'s departure, that he soon had the face of an army. The first gleam of good fortune they obtained was an advantage they gained over *Alberigo* at *Colle*, where, against his own inclination, he was obliged to fight the *Florentines*, and was worsted. This advantage, though but trifling, was celebrated at *Florence* with an extravagance of joy.

WE are to reflect, that all the *Florentine* dominions were at this time reduced to *Florence*, their great walled towns and cities, and a few inconsiderable places that had been spared in the vale of *Alfa*. Almost all their open country had been reduced by *Picinino* and the *Siennese*; but the late defeat of *Alberigo* gave a turn to their fortune. *Philip*, suspecting him to have an understanding with the *Florentines*, sent for him in chains to *Milan*, his command devolving on the young *Antonio* of *Pergola*, who neither had any authority in the army, nor any opportunities of giving a proof of his military capacity, as the season was too far advanced for action. After this, during the winter, not a day passed without some notable defection from the *Milanese* army, and many of their best troops and officers went into the *Florentine* service.

By this time the *Venetians*, alarmed at *Philip*'s vast progress in *Tuscany*, had concluded a new league with the *Florentines*, and had fitted out a greater naval armament than

(B) The reader is not to imagine that the castles, forts, and fortified towns he meets with so often in this history, were, for the most part, any other than the houses of private gentlemen, or open villages, with a few works of defence, cast up about them to secure them from being surprised by the banditti, and disbanded soldiery, which, at this time, and long before, had infested *Italy*, and which always followed the fortune of the field.

had for many ages been known in Italy. It was to oppose them that he had recalled *Picinino* out of Tuscany, and given him the command of both his sea and land forces. The Venetian fleet having sailed up the *Po*, being most or all of them galleys, and drawing very little water, lay opposite to their land army, which was commanded by *Carmignola*, against whom *Picinino* alone could make head, as their fleet was by *Stefano* of *Treviso*. This encounterment was near *Cremona*; while the *Milanese* fleet, which was equal in number, but far inferior in strength and appointments to that of *Venice*, lay above that city. *Picinino* seemed intent only upon the land operations; but all of a sudden, without communicating his design to any one but *Sforza*, perceiving *Carmignola's* attention fixed upon the army, he threw himself on board a *Milanese* galley, and, though unused to that service, by his own personal valour and intrepidity, he gave the *Venetians* one of the greatest defeats they had ever received on the water, while *Carmignola* could do nothing but deplore it from the shore. The particulars of this defeat, and of the vast booty made by the *Milanese* and *Genoese*, are foreign to this part of our history; but it is said, that the equipment of the whole cost the *Venetians* six hundred thousand ducats.

The Venetians defeated by water.

To compensate this loss the *Venetians*, having sent round some galleys towards the gulph of *Genoa*, defeated the *Genoese* galleys in the *Tuscan* sea; and the *Florentines*, under *Michelotto*, surprised *Trebia*, and reduced most of the places that had been taken during the summer by *Picinino* and the *Sienese*, who were now thrown into the utmost dependency: but a pestilential distemper breaking out amongst their horses in the field, both parties were obliged to go into quarters. We are to take this interval to resume the domestic affairs of *Florence*.

Discontents at Florence.

THE bad success of the war against *Lucca* rendered it from being a very popular a most unpopular measure. They who had been the most forward in carrying it on, now shifted the blame upon one another; but the weight of the public indignation fell upon the leaders. *Guicciardini*, who had commanded in chief after *Sforza's* retreat, was accused of having received money from the enemies of *Florence*; and the spirit against him ran so high, that the gonfalonier cited him to take his trial; but either *Guicciardini's* interest in the state, or his innocence of the charge, prevented the matter from going farther. The charge against *Cosmo de Medici* had more serious consequences.

THIS nobleman, by his behaviour in the state, had shewn the *Florentines* what they could not otherwise have believed, that

that it was possible his father could be excelled in all the duties of an able disinterested citizen. The first maxim *Cosmo* laid down in life was, to side with no party in the republic; but by his advice, his hospitality, munificence, and other virtues, to oblige *Medici*. the individuals of all. He carried this maxim so far, that when he found public business could not go on, without the sanction of his credit, he always prevailed with his friend *Puccio Pucci* to take the lead in the management of affairs; and his party went by *Puccio's* name. His other friend was *Averardo di Medici*, an excellent soldier; but so cautious was *Cosmo* in party-matters, that, though he highly approved of the war with *Lucca*, yet he employed his interest in giving the command of it to those who were known to be no friends to his family. We shall not here enter into the dispute, whether this was not carrying the principles of disinterestedness to an impolitic length. *Cosmo's* friends, not so disinterested as he was, laid hold of all opportunities to aggravate the losses of the state, and vilify the conduct of its generals, which was of no service to him; for, notwithstanding all his modesty and self-denial, he was still looked upon as the principal citizen of *Florence*; and the enemies of his family considered every thing as being done by his secret concurrence and approbation. *Nicolo de Uzano* was still respected for his great integrity, abilities, and experience; and was thought the only person capable to counterpoize *Cosmo's* interest in the state. *Barbadori*, so called from the yellow beards of his family, was sent by *Rinaldo Albizi*, and the other enemies of the *Medici*, to persuade *Uzano* to head the party against *Cosmo*. The venerable patriot, in his answer, wished that his beard had been silver instead of gold, for he then might have reflected on the consequences of what he proposed. He then entered into a detail of the divisions and factions that prevailed amongst the families who called themselves noble, and proved that *Cosmo's* party had as good a right to that appellation as that of his antagonists. He next proceeded to a defence of *Cosmo*, and shewed the injustice of persecuting a man merely because he had acquired popularity by virtue. After this he remonstrated upon the folly of such an attempt, on account of *Cosmo's* prodigious influence in the state; and put *Barbadori* in mind, that, supposing *Cosmo* to be ruined, they must be governed by *Rinaldo*, who was a much worse man. In the conclusion of his discourse, which is fully recited by *Machiavel*, he advised them to concord and moderation, as being the only terms on which the state could be served.

Rancour
of his ene-
mies.

THOSE sentiments, so worthy of a patriot and a wise man, made such an impression upon *Cosmo's* enemies, that every thing remained quiet during the war with *Lucca*. But at the end of that, *Uziano* dying, *Rinaldo* came the head of the party; and being the irreconcilable furious enemy of *Medici*, he left nothing undone to disunite his countrymen to a civil war, rather than not ruin his antagonist. He persuaded all his party never to appear in public, but in arms, that the people might be more impressed with an apprehension of danger; and all their civil meetings, even for the choice of magistrates, wore a military aspect, and were seldom closed without tumults (C).

RINALDO's success in this was such that he now only wanted a consalonier to his mind. The person most likely to answer his purpose was *Bernardo Guadagno*, whose debts he paid off, lest the greatness of them might have obstructed his election, which went in his favour. Scarcely had he entered his office, when *Rinaldo* laid before him the danger of *Cosmo's* popularity, which, without charging him with any other crime, he said had deprived the republic of her liberty. To encourage *Bernardo* to proceed, he brought many instances in which popularity had deserted the impeached when they came to a trial, and that *Cosmo* would find himself in the same condition, especially as he and his friends were resolved to support to the last extremity the administration of justice.

His dan-
ger.

BERNARDO was easily persuaded to do as *Rinaldo* desired him. After some consultation with the other magistrates, *Cosmo* was summoned to the palace, where he was put under arrest; and the senate assembling, the people created a *Balia* of two hundred, for the reformation of the state, and the trial of *Cosmo*; while *Rinaldo*, and his friends, appeared in arms in the piazza where the *Balia* were sitting. The debates concerning *Cosmo* lasted four days, during which time he was confined to a strong room called the *Alberghettino*, from whence he had an opportunity of hearing and seeing the bustle that was made concerning his life, death, or banishment. This filled him with apprehensions lest his enemies should take him off by poison; and for four days

(C) Notwithstanding all this, *Machiavel* gives this *Rinaldo* a great character, and calls him a man worthy of honour in all fortunes. If we consider what afterwards happened, when the

house of *Medici* came to be sovereigns of *Florence*, there are reasons for believing that *Rinaldo* had motives for his conduct, which have not been explained by *Machiavel*.

he

he eat only a little bread. His keeper's name was *Malavolti*, who, observing *Cosmo's* distrust, considered it as a reflection upon his own honour, and declared that no foul dealings should be offered him while in his custody; and, to prove his sincerity, he ordered victuals to be brought, of which he tasted before his face. This generous behaviour filled the prisoner's eyes with tears of gratitude; and he won so far upon his keeper, that, being now redispersed to the comforts of society, *Malavolti* introduced to his company one *Fargannacio*, a man of wit and humour, and intimately acquainted with the gonfalonier. *Cosmo* knew that money at that time went a great way in *Florence*; and, after supper, *Malavolti* having prudently withdrawn, *Cosmo*, after a most obliging address, gave *Fargannacio* a private token to receive, on his account, one thousand one hundred ducats at the hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*; one hundred of which he allotted to *Fargannacio* himself, and the other thousand was to be paid to the gonfalonier. This well-timed bribe, or bounty, by softening the gonfalonier, mollified *Cosmo's* fate, and his sentence was, that he should be sent in exile to *Padua*. Many of his relations, together with *Puccio Pucci*, were banished at the same time; and dispositions were made for keeping in awe those who were dissatisfied with their sentences.

COSMO received his doom, which was pronounced on the third of *October*, 1433, with a cheerful countenance, and perfect resignation to the will of his judges, only beseeching them to grant him protection against his enemies, who he understood waited in the piazza to murder him. The gonfalonier undertook that office; and, after attending him in the palace till supper was over, he gave him a strong guard, which accompanied him out to the confines of the *Florentine* territories to those of *Venice*, where he was received with the highest honours.

RINALDO, and *Cosmo's* other enemies, considered his banishment as a triumph over themselves, and the forerunner of their destruction. *Rinaldo*, in despair, summoned together of his party, and, after remonstrating upon the folly and madness of suffering *Cosmo* to escape with life, he proposed that the nobles should seize by force the government, restore the exiled nobility of their own party, and deprive the plebeians of all their power in the state. He supported his opinion with many specious arguments; but was opposed by *Mariotto Boldavineti*, who thought the tyranny of the plebeians to be more tolerable than that of the nobles, who were arrived at the highest pitch of pride and insolence. *Mariotto's* opinion prevailed; and *Rinaldo* attributed his coun-
sel

A. D.
1434.

fel being rejected to a judicial infatuation. It being now apparent that *Rinaldo's* party was divided, *Cosmo's* friends began to bestir themselves, and a letter to him from *Agnoletti* was intercepted. Its contents inform him of the good disposition of the city in his favour, and advised him by all means to make *Neri Genucci* his friend, and that the state was in such distress for money as must occasion his sudden recall. This letter being laid before the magistracy, occasioned *Agnoletti* to be banished; but his punishment was so far from damping *Cosmo's* friends, that they daily increased; and when new magistrates were chosen in 1434, *Nicholas de Cocco* was made gonfalonier, and eight senators were elected, all of them devoted to *Cosmo*. *Rinaldo*, upon this, again summoned his party, to shew them their impending danger, and proposed that they should take arms, continue *Donato Veluti*, who was then gonfalonier, in his office, and proceed immediately to a new election of magistrates, by burning the old purses which contained the names of the magistrates, and making a new imbursement.

who takes
arms,

WHILE many of the assembly were inclined to follow this advice, it was opposed by *Palla Strozzi*, a nobleman of great temper and moderation, who thought that they ought by no means to take arms, till they were obliged by the near approach of a foreign enemy, when they might do it without alarming the people, or bringing themselves into danger. After farther deliberation it was agreed, that the new magistrates should enter upon the exercise of their offices; but that if they should attempt any thing against the nobility, the latter should assemble at *St. Pulcinare*, and proceed as circumstances should occur. The first act of authority the new gonfalonier performed, was the imprisoning his predecessor *Donato Veluti* for embezzling the public money. He then called a meeting of the friends of the house of *Medici*, whom he found so powerful, that he cited *Rinaldo*, *Ridolfo Peruzzi*, and *Nicolo Barbadori*, to appear before him. *Rinaldo*, instead of submitting, flew to arms; and the rest of his party, according to agreement, assembled at *St. Pulcinare*, and they were joined by a great number of disbanded soldiers, who happened at that time to be in *Florence*; so that the palace was beset.

RINALDO, however, could not support himself and his party against the appearance of legal authority. Two of the greatest men of his party, *Palla Strozzi* and *Giovanni Guicciardini*, refused to join him in arms. *Palla* came to *Pulcinare* on horseback, attended by only two footmen, and was there received by most bitter upbraidings from *Rinaldo*, who reproached

proached him with folly, cowardice, and treachery; first in saving *Cosmo's* life; secondly, in slighting his (*Rinaldo's*) counsels; and thirdly, in refusing to join him in arms. To this *Palla* made no reply but by turning the head of his horse, and retreating as fast as he could. As to *Guicciardini*, he excused his appearance, on pretence that his presence was necessary at home, to keep his brother from joining the opposite party. But *Rinaldo's* greatest disappointment consisted in the general backwardness of his party to join him; and while he was waiting for the troops he expected, the magistrates recovered from their consternation, shut the palace gates, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

THIS was no sooner known than the *Medici* party appeared in their turn, as the champions of legal government. *Rinaldo* however was so powerful, and his pretexts so specious, that the magistrates thought proper to enter into treaty with him. They sent some of their own body to assure him, that they had no thoughts of recalling *Cosmo* from his banishment; and that he was welcome to enter the palace, and receive satisfaction as to all his just complaints. *Rinaldo* refused to trust himself in their hands, and publicly declared his resolution of reforming the state, and reducing the magistrates to the rank of private men. *Ridolfo Peruzzi* was not so tractable. He thought that the offer made by the senate was fair and equitable, and declared that all he sought was to prevent *Cosmo's* return, and that he was willing to obey the magistrates. He accordingly repaired to the palace, where he and all his friends were cordially received. The defection of so great a man threw an irrecoverable damp upon *Rinaldo's* party.

POPE *Eugene IV.* happened at this time to be at *Florence*, where he had taken refuge after he had been expelled from *Rome*. He offered himself as a mediator to reconcile the contending factions; and the magistrates of *Florence*, that they might some the more easily to their purpose, seemed to accept his mediation; but in terms so vague and indetermined, that it gave him no power to conclude any thing in their name. *Eugene*, however, sent the patriarch *Giovanni Vitelleschi*, one of *Rinaldo's* friends, to treat with him; and *Rinaldo*, at his persuasion, went to *Santa Maria Novella*, where the pope resided. After some discourse *Rinaldo*, finding how little he could depend upon his party, consented to lay down his arms; and his consent was intimated to *Barbadori*, and his other friends, who waited without, and who, by the pope's persuasion, did the same. The faction being thus disarmed, proceeded in what they had resolved upon, without

without the least regard to the mediation of his holiness. They privately sent to *Pistoia* for troops, which were introduced, in the night-time, into the city, and after securing all its posts and avenues, the people were summoned to the great piazza; and a new Balia was appointed, which repealed *Cosmo's* sentence of banishment, and exiled *Rinaldo de Albizi*, *Rodolfo Peruzzi*, *Niccolò Barbadori*, and *Palla Strozzi*, with all their friends and dependents; so that there was scarce a town in *Italy* that did not contain *Florentine* exiles.

THIS is a remarkable period in the *Florentine* history; and, however blameable *Rinaldo* might have been in his proceedings, it is certain that we may from this time date the ruin of the republic and constitution of *Florence*. *Rinaldo* bore his fate like a brave man. When the pope consoled with him, and mentioned the treachery, as he called it, of the magistrates, he reproached himself with weakness in imagining that his holiness, who had himself been driven from *Rome*, could protect him in *Florence*: in all other respects, his behaviour was manly and philosophical. While he accused the coldness of his friends, he blamed his own misguided conduct, and submitted to his sentence. *Cosmo*, in the mean while, was upon his return to *Florence*, where he was received with more joy than *Cicero*, under the like circumstances, was received at *Rome*, and was distinguished by the glorious titles of "the Friend of the People, and the Father of his Country."

The emperor arrives in Italy: THE papal power at this time was formidable every where but in *Italy*; for there it was not only deprest, but despised. The *Florentines*, notwithstanding the distractions of their government, still bore a great sway in the affairs of *Italy*. The emperor *Sigismund*, who delighted in the parade of mediations, negotiations, and public exhibitions of every kind, had failed in his attempt to reduce the *Bohemians*, whom the infamous murder of *John Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague*, at the council of *Constance*, had driven into arms. Those two are generally reckoned the first martyrs for the protestant religion; and they imbibed their principles from *John Wickliff*, an *Englishman*, parson of *Lutterworth*, who, though he openly avowed the doctrine of reformation, died quietly in his bed. After the defeat of the imperial army by the *Bohemians*, *Sigismund* undertook a journey into *Italy*, though he was too poor, that he scarcely could defray the expences of it. The name of emperor, however, was still respectable, if not formidable. While a general council was holding at *Basil*, he was crowned with what is falsely called the iron crown at *Milan*; and, indeed, his great dependence, even for the charges of his retinue, was upon that duke. The council at *Basil*, in imitation

tion of that of *Constance*, declared itself superior to the pope, and censured him. The *Florentines* were neutral; but gave the emperor no encouragement to hope for their friendship in *Italy*.

FROM *Milan* he journeyed to *Rome*; but the *Florentines* affronted paid so little regard to his authority, that they attacked and by the Flo beat at *Topori* the escort that had been sent him by the duke rentines. of *Milan*; and when he came to *Lucca*, they destroyed all the country round, and pent him up within the city; so that he became contemptible in the eyes even of the *Italians*. From *Lucca* it was with difficulty that he removed to *Sienna*, where he remained for some months; and he then obtained leave from the pope to repair to *Rome*, where he received the idle honour of being crowned emperor of the *Romans*.

THE distractions of *Italy*, and the weakness of the emperor, concurred at this time to advance the temporal power of the papacy to a pitch it never had known before; and even its enemies contributed to its greatness. According to *Machiavel**, *Italy* then contained two different armies; but both united in the same view, which was that of plunder; and both, finding no other object, had marked out the church's patrimony as their prey. One of those armies, and the most considerable, had been bred up under *Sforza*; the other under *Braccio*. The former was commanded by *Sforza's* son, and the latter by *Braccio's* disciple *Piccinino*, and his nephew *Fortebraccio*. The princes and states of *Italy* knew that murder and rapine subsisted both armies, yet they durst disoblige neither of them; but the *Florentines* and the duke of *Milan* had the courage to make peace with each other, by which the *Florentines* were put into possession of all that their enemies had conquered from them in the *Pisan*, the *Volterrann*, and the *Arezzian* territories, while the *Florentines* surrendered all the acquisitions they had made in the *Lucques*. This peace was of solid advantage to the *Florentines*, as it restored them to a state of independency both upon the emperor and the pope. The former, during his stay in *Italy*, had altered his political system. He had broken with the duke of *Milan*, and he was reconciled to the *Venetians*; and, notwithstanding the contumelies with which the *Florentines* had treated him, he courted their friendship. They were so far from repaying him the compliment, that, when he earnestly intreated it, they refused to suffer him to enter *Florence*, when he was upon his return to *Germany*.

* MACHIAVELI, book v.

Progress of the war in Romagna. WHEN Sigismund left Italy, Sforza and Fortebraccio at once fell upon the dominions of the church; and both of them, being mercenaries, they had different objects in view.

Sforza fell upon the marquisate of Ancona, while Piccinino attacked Rome. The reader can scarcely believe in what horror the political power was then held in Italy. The Romans no sooner perceived that they were in danger of a war, on the pope's account, than they drove him out of Rome, and he retired to Florence. Here he entered into a treaty with Sforza, to whom he granted the marquisate of Ancona; but so much was his holiness despised by Sforza, that he dated all the leases and grants he made in the marquisate from his own treasury, in spite of St. Peter and St. Paul. He then compelled the pope to make him the lieutenant of the church, by which he had all the executive power of government within the papal dominions. Niccolus wisely complied, and obtained his ends, by setting Sforza and Fortebraccio at variance. The former enlisted himself under the pope's banners, the latter proceeded in making conquests upon the church patrimony: but all their operations in the main, by a strange fatality, tended to aggrandize the papacy. Sforza grew jealous of Fortebraccio, and the Bolognese, again throwing off their dependence upon the pope, implored the protection of the duke of Milan. The duke chose pacific measures, and prevailed with both parties to come to a truce, which was but short-lived; for Battista de Canino, making himself master of Bologna, applied to the duke of Milan for protection, while the pope invoked the aid of the Florentines and the Venetians. Both parties furnished the succours required of them. Piccinino was the Milanese general, and Guatamelata commanded the armies of Florence and Venice, having under him Niccolus Tolentino as his lieutenant general. A battle was fought near Imola, in which the Venetians and Florentines were defeated; and Tolentino, being taken, was sent prisoner to Milan, where soon after he died. The duke of Milan, after obtaining this victory, seemed to give over all thoughts of war, and the pope, with his allies, found means to bring Sforza into their interest, and prevailed with him to accept the command of their armies. He quickly changed the scale of war in favour of his holiness, who now prevailed over the stubborn Romans, and they submitted to a governor appointed by him. Fortebraccio, however, remained the irreconcilable enemy of the Roman see. He was in possession of Tivoli, Montefiascone, Cassino, and Assisi, but, being defeated by Sforza, he shut him-

The Florentines defeated.

self up in the latter place, where his enemy besieged him. The duke of Milan's view was to preserve *Fortebraccio*, as a useful check upon the pope and his allies: he therefore ordered *Piccinino* to march through the *Romagna* into *Tuscany*, which obliged *Sforza* to raise the siege of *Assisi*, and to advance towards *Forli*, where *Piccinino* lay, leaving the care of the war in *Ancona* to his brother *Lione*, who was intirely defeated by *Fortebraccio*. *Sforza*, afraid of being stript of all his possessions, returned to *Ancona*, and, in his turn, defeated and took prisoner *Fortebraccio*, who soon after died of his wounds.

THIS victory, obtained by *Sforza*, intirely altered the face of affairs in *Italy*. All the towns that had been taken from the pope by *Fortebraccio*, reverted to the Holy See; and even the duke of *Milan* was obliged to have recourse to *Nicola d'Este* marquis of *Ferrara*'s mediation, to obtain a peace from his holiness, which was granted him, upon condition of recalling his troops out of *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, and restoring all he had taken from the church. *Battista Carneto*, no longer able to support himself in *Bologna*, was now driven out of that city by *Bentivoglio*, and the pope recovered full possession of it.

THOUGH the *Florentines* and their allies were thus successful, yet it is certain that the high spirit of liberty, which had distinguished the commonwealth of *Florence*, had now subsided in that state and city. Tired with perpetual struggles of adverse factions for power, the citizens no longer stuck to their constitution, and this threw into *Cosmo de Medici*'s hands more power than was consistent for the subject of a republic to possess. Severity became necessary to his party; for they had no other means of safety. New confiscations, confinements, and banishments, every day took place; and even sanguinary measures, unusual amongst the *Florentines*, were pursued. *Bernardo Guadagni*, the gonfalonier, who had banished *Cosmo*, and four citizens of his party, were beheaded. *Zanobi Belfratelli*, and *Cosmo Barbadori*, took refuge in the *Venetian* state; but so great was the respect paid to *Cosmo de Medici* by all the powers of *Italy* at this time, that the *Venetians* sent them home prisoners, and they were put to death. *Machiavel*^c is inclined to think, that the *Venetians* were guilty of this breach of honour and hospitality, that they might inflame and perpetuate the *Florentine* factions, as being most conducive to their own security.

^c MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.

Power of
the Medici.

FLORENCE, by those examples of severity, seemed to be united; but it was an union not founded on the principles of her constitution. *Cosmo*, however, endeavoured all he could to heal the wounds of his country, by recalling all exiles who were willing to be reconciled to the state, and who had not sworn to his and his party's destruction. The powerful family of the *Alberici*, in particular, was restored. Almost all the nobility submitted to be ranked with the other citizens: and the estates of the exiles, who had lately been banished, were sold at public auction. In the choice of magistrates, none were admitted but those who were devoted to the *Medicean* interest; and those who were appointed to make the alterations, together with the old senate or magistrates, were empowered to create the new. A new criminal court was instituted of eight persons, and invested with the power of life and death: and so jealous was the government of the *Albizzi* faction, that a public act passed, decreeing, that no repeal of confiscation or banishment should take place, unless thirty-four out of the thirty seven members, of which the senate was composed, should consent. All correspondence with the exiles was at the same time rendered penal; and the ruling party, according to *Machiavel*, went so far as to punish not only words and actions, but intimations by signs, if they imagined they tended to favour any of the proscribed. In short, no measure of severity or cruelty was wanting to secure the government in power. To make this system the more permanent, new alliances were made between the *Florentines*, the pope, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*; and no device that the wit of man could invent was omitted, to give stability to their system.

Revolutions in
Naples

In the mean while, *Joan* queen of *Naples* died. She had nominated for her successor *Regnier* of *Anjou*; but *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, disputed the succession with him. The pope, pretending that *Naples* belonged to the Holy See, disclaimed both sovereigns, and sought to govern that kingdom by his own deputy. The *Neapolitans* were divided amongst themselves; and the party that opposed *Alphonso* applied for protection to the duke of *Milan*, who was still master of *Genoa*. The *Genoese*, from the hatred they had towards *Alphonso*, and to secure to themselves the gainful commerce of *Naples*, fitted out a powerful fleet, which *Alphonso* engaged near *Gattha*; but was totally defeated, and he himself, his two brothers, with the chief officers of his court and army, were taken prisoners, and sent to *Milan*.

It was now thought that *Philip* duke of *Milan* would make himself master of *Italy*; and perhaps the *Florentines* alone pre-

vented

wanted him, by privately suggesting to the *Genoese* how scandalous it was for a state so powerful as they were, by sea especially, to live under a foreign yoke; and at the same time promising to support them to the utmost, should they attempt to shake it off. It was not long before those arguments had the desired effect. When *Alphonso* arrived at *Milan*, he found means to insinuate himself into *Philip's* good graces, and gave him such ideas of the character and ambition of the *French*, as rendered him the irreconcilable enemy of *Régner*. To the amazement of all *Europe*, he generously restored *Alphonso*, his brothers, and friends to their liberty, and sent them with great magnificence to *Genoa*; from whence *Alphonso* transported himself to *Gaeta*, which some of his party had surprised. The *Genoese* considered the deliverance of *Alphonso* as an insult upon themselves. Though *Philip's* victory was owing to them, he had not deigned to consult them about the disposal of his royal prisoner. *Francisco Spínola*, a noble *Genoese*, who had been the chief instrument of subjecting his country to *Philip*, finding matters quite ripe for a revolt, sought to repair his fault by restoring the independency of *Genoa*. On the feast of *St. John the Baptist*, when *Arismino*, the *Milanese* governor, was about to enter upon his post, *Spínola*, and a few friends, who were in his secret, issued from his palace, and proclaimed liberty in the market place. The *Genoese* were so unanimous in joining them, that *Arismino* took refuge in the castle; and his predecessor *Opicino*, in endeavouring to reach the palace, where he had two thousand soldiers, was intercepted by the mob, and torn in pieces. After this the *Genoese* took the castle, and driving all the *Milanese* out of *Genoa*, regained their independency.

RINALDO DE ALBIZI was still in exile, and *The duke* resided at *Milan*, where he practised upon that duke to declare war against the *Florentines*. He was not without many specious arguments to support his solicitation. The intercourse between the *Florentines* and the *Genoese* was so far from being a secret, that, after the latter recovered their liberty, the *Florentines* not only entered into a new league with them, but sent a body of troops to their assistance, and even persuaded the *Venetians* to do the same. Notwithstanding all those provocations, *Philip* was very backward in entering into a fresh war, which he saw must be attended with expence and difficulty. Before he broke with the *Florentines*, he sent *Picirino* with an army to endeavour to retake *Genoa*; but though he obtained some advantages over the *Genoese*, he returned unsuccessful. Upon this the duke of *Milan* declared war against the *Florentines*, whom he blamed for the defection of *Genoa*,

and *Picinino* besieged and took *Serazana*. Pope *Eugene* was at this time at *Florence*; but, upon this new war breaking out, he went to *Bologna*, where he endeavoured to mediate a peace between *Philip* and the *Florentines*, in which the *Venetians* were to be comprehended. *Philip* would hear of no terms, unless the *Florentines* would renounce their alliance with the *Genoese*, which they peremptorily refused to do. Upon this the pope ordered his general *Sforza* to join the *Florentine* general *Neri de Gino*, and to make head against *Picinino*, who was then at *Lucca* with a design to reduce *Pisa*, though he gave out that he was about to march to *Naples*, to assist the king of *Arragon*. The two armies, that under *Sforza* and *Neri de Gino*, and that under *Picinino*, were pretty equal as to numbers, and in all other respects; but it was *December* before they took the field, and each knew the other's strength so well, that both of them lay for some time upon the defensive. At last, *Picinino* made a movement; but failed in his attempt upon *Vico Pisano*, though he took *S. Maria in Castello*, and *Filletto*, and burned *S. Giovanni-ulla-Vena*, destroying at the same time the neighbouring country.

who remain inactive.

THE *Florentines* under *Sforza* and *Gino* remained all this while inactive out of complaisance to the pope, who mediated a peace. *Picinino* attributed their inactivity to their cowardice, and laid siege to *Borgo*, which lay in the *Arezzian* territory. This attempt drove the *Florentines* from their neutrality; and *Sforza* not only raised the siege of *Borgo*, but totally defeated *Picinino*, and fell into the *Lucquese* territories, with an intent to besiege *Lucca*. In the mean while, the *Venetians* being called upon by the *Florentines*, in consequence of the treaty subsisting between them, sent an army under *Giovanni Francisco de Gonzaga* to invade the *Milanese*, which obliged *Philip* to recal *Picinino* from *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* made use of that opportunity to recover *S. Maria in Castello*, and all the other places that had been taken by *Picinino*. They likewise besieged *Camajore*, which they took, together with *Massa* and *Serazana*; and about the beginning of *May*, 1437, *Sforza* laid siege to *Lucca* itself. The *Lucquese* in vain applied to the duke of *Milan* for assistance; and obtaining none, they abandoned all the open country, which was wasted by the *Florentines*, and prepared to make a vigorous defence of their capital, which they fortified with new works. The *Florentine* army, on the other hand, obliged *Monte-Carlo* to surrender, and besieged *Uzzano*; so that *Lucca* was reduced to the utmost distress. The *Lucquese*, in this extremity, again applied to the duke of *Milan* so movingly, and so effectually, that he determined to send a great body of troops to their relief. The

A. D.
1437.

Florentines, to divert this storm, applied to the *Venetians*; but *Their dis-*
the marquis of *Mantua*, who was in their pay, went over to *the*
the service of the duke of *Milan*: upon which the *Venetians*
threatened to disband their army, if *Sforza* was not sent to
command it. This request put the *Florentines* to great incon-
veniences. On one hand, they saw the necessity of prosec-
uting, by way of diversion, the war in *Lombardy*; on the
other, they were bent on the conquest of *Lucca*, in which
they despaired of succeeding without *Sforza*. The latter had
made it one of the conditions of his service, that he should
not be obliged to pass the *Po*; and he kept steady to that re-
solution, for fear of too much exasperating his future father-
in-law the duke of *Milan*. The *Venetians* pretended, that
without him they must be obliged to evacuate *Lombardy*; and
the *Florentines*, to keep them in temper, prevailed on *Sforza*
to write them a letter, promising that he would pass the *Po*.
He accordingly, after making dispositions for continuing the
siege of *Lucca*, went to *Lombardy*; and when he came to
Reggio, the *Venetians* formally requested him to pass the *Po*,
and head their forces, which he obstinately declined to do.
Upon this, some reproachful language passed between him and
Andrea Morosini, who had been sent from *Venice* to treat
with him; but nothing could prevail with *Sforza* to break
with *Philip*, in whose interest he all along was; and he re-
turned to *Tusany*, as *Morosini* did to *Venice*, after making a
formal protest, that the *Venetians* should be no longer obliged
to give *Sforza* pay.

THE *Florentines* had foreseen this, and required him to *The siege*
continue the siege of *Lucca*, which he absolutely refused to do *of Lucca*
till the *Venetians* should pay him his arrears; and the duke of *raised*.
Milan was not wanting to improve the quarrel to his own
interest. He promised *Sforza*, that he should consummate
the marriage with his daughter, if he could bring about a
peace between the *Florentines* and the *Lucchese*; and *Sforza*,
dazzled with so illustrious an alliance, and in hopes of be-
coming duke of *Milan* (*Philip* having no male issue) inti-
mated that he was resolved to break off all connections with
the *Florentines*, who, he pretended, were unable to support
him, now that they were abandoned by the *Venetians*. In this
doubtful state of affairs, *Cosmo de Medici*, who was now at
the head of the *Florentine* republic, and in high reputation all
over *Italy*, went in person to *Venice*, where he laid before the
senate the dreadful consequences that must ensue to them, as
well as the *Florentines*, if *Philip* and *Sforza* should join their
forces. The matter was fully debated; but the *Venetians*, far
from complying with *Cosmo*, inveighed bitterly against *Sforza's*

They make
peace.

ambition and insolence. They pretended, that he was in the *Florentine* service, and that they ought to pay him; that they were resolved to act upon the defensive, and to suffer *Sforza* to take his course: so that *Cosmo* was obliged to return without succeeding in his commission. By this time the duke of *Milan* had brought over to his service *Furlano*, a general-officer, on whom *Sforza* had great dependence; and this defection served him with a pretext to finish his treaty with *Philip*; one of the articles of which was, that he should take no farther concern in the affairs either of *Tuscany* or the *Romagna*. This reconciliation, in fact, obliged the *Florentines* to relinquish all their designs against *Lucca*; and in April, 1438, a peace was concluded between them and the *Lucqueses*, who were declared to be a free people; but the *Florentines* remained in possession of *Monte-Carlo*, and the other acquisitions they had made from the *Lucqueses*.

Affairs of
Italy.

UPON the death of *Fortebraccio*, which has been already mentioned, *Poppi*, whose daughter *Fortebraccio* had married, held *S. Sepolchro* as part of his daughter's dower, though demanded by the pope as belonging to him; and *Poppi*, finding himself unable to contest with his holiness, offered to deposit the place into the hands of the *Florentines*; but they refused it, for fear of giving umbrage to the pope, whom, at last, they prevailed upon to compromise the difference, by putting him in possession of *S. Sepolchro*, while he relinquished all his conquests in the *Casentin*, and returned them *Prato*, *Vecchio*, and *Romena*.

Dedication
of the ca-
thedral of
Florence.

IT has been noted in history, that though the *Florentines* were thus involved on every side with difficulties and dangers, the magnificence and splendor of the city was as great as ever. The affairs of the pope having obliged him to return to *Florence*, and their cathedral of *S. Reparata* being finished, it was now consecrated by his holiness. The pomp of this consecration is celebrated both by *Arétin* and *Machiavel*; and the concourse of people was so great, that the magistrates were obliged to erect a most magnificent platform for the procession, between the place of the pope's residence and the church that was to be consecrated. The pope encouraged this and all other extravagancies of that kind, that he might impress the emperor of *Constantinople* and his prelates, who were then at *Florence*, and treating of an accommodation with the *Latin* church, with high ideas of his grandeur^d. A council was accordingly indicted at *Ferrara*, to perfect the reconciliation.

^d ARÉTIN, pag. 265.

THE duke of *Milan* at this time was intent upon a war *Craft of* with the *Venetians*, whom he dreaded more than he did the *the duke of* *Florentines*. His secret aim was to retake *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; but perceiving that he would be opposed by the pope, *Picininio*. he secretly treated with *Picininio* to invade the *Romagna*; but not as his general, being bound up by his late treaty with *Sforza* from attacking any part of the papal dominions. The deceit was carried on so well, that *Picininio* over-reached his holiness, surprised *Ravenna*, *Forli*, *Iolola*, and *Bologna*; subdued all the pope's possessions in the *Romagna*, and carried the war into *Lombardy*, where he besieged *Brescia*. Though all *Italy* was sensible of the collusion between the pope and *Picininio*, yet they continued to dissemble their engagements, and *Philip* openly disavowed all that *Picininio* had done. The *Florentines* applied for assistance to *Sforza*, who durst not venture to disoblige *Philip*, and therefore remained neutral. Being disappointed in that quarter, they dropt all their resentments against the *Venetians*, and resolved to join them. In the mean while, they were greatly favoured by *Philip's* dissimulation, who found daily pretexts for putting off *Sforza's* marriage with his daughter, though he had sent him thirty thousand florins as part of her fortune. This did not satisfy *Sforza*, who saw into *Philip's* design, which was to keep him in a state of dependence till he was enabled, by his great success against the *Venetians*, to crush him. The *Florentines* again attempted to make him sensible of the duke's views, and succeeded so far, at last, as to bring him into a confederacy with them and the *Venetians*. The conditions were, that the *Venetians* should pay two thirds of the expence of the war. The remaining third was to be defrayed by the *Florentines*, and both republics engaged to defend *Sforza's* estate in *Ancona* and the *Romagna*. One difficulty, however, still remained, which was *Sforza's* absolutely refusing to pass the *Po* with his army, and to carry the war into the *Milanese*.

ALL they could prevail upon him to do was to put himself *Negotiation* at the head of the *Venetian* troops in the *Paduan*; but great *with Ve-* difficulties even in that occurring, *Nicci di Gino Capponi* was nice. sent ambassador to *Venice*, to concert measures for the preservation of both republics. *Capponi* was received with all the respect due to a sovereign prince; and having previously had a conference with *Sforza*, he brought him to consent to pass the *Po*, and to march to the relief of *Verona* and *Pisa*, which were ready to fall under the power of the duke of *Avignon*. A public audience was granted to *Capponi* in the *Venetian* senate, where he made a very fine speech, magnifying the friendship of *Florence* to her sister republic; and offered

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bard)

them, in *Sforza's* name, his own service, at the head of seven thousand horse and two thousand foot, to be employed where they thought proper. The senators were so much overjoyed at this proposal, which was greatly beyond their hopes, that, without waiting for the pope's answer, they embraced *Capponi* with tears in their eyes as their common deliverer; and on the 20th of June, *Sforza* arrived with his army in the *Paduan*, and marched to the relief of *Verona*, which he effected, tho' opposed by all *Picinino's* power. He then proceeded to the relief of *Brescia*; but, an epidemical distemper happening amongst his troops, he was obliged to give over that enterprize, which gave *Picinino* great advantages. *Sforza*, however, refreshing his troops, again advanced to relieve *Brescia*, and came to a battle with *Picinino*, whose army was routed near *Tenna*, he himself almost miraculously escaping. But this victory was not improved as it might have been; and *Picinino*, having joined the remains of his army, surprised *Verona*, at a time when the *Venetians* thought him either dead, or ruined beyond all possibility of recovery. *Sforza* was at *Tenna* when this unexpected news reached him; and, without losing a moment's time, he marched to retake *Verona*, before *Picinino* could complete the new fortifications he had designed for its defence. Though *Sforza* undertook this expedition against the advice of all his general officers, yet it succeeded; for, making a feint as if he intended to march to *Vicenza*, he suddenly turned short, and assaulting the unfinished works of *Verona*, while *Picinino's* soldiers were busy about the plunder, he carried the castle of *S. Felice*, and obliged *Picinino* and the marquis of *Manrua* to save themselves by flight, and to rejoin their camp, which still remained before *Brescia*.

Duke of
Milan en-
raged at
the Floren-
tines.

THE duke of *Milan* attributed all his misfortunes to the *Florentines*, and resolved to be revenged. It was now the dead of winter; and *Sforza*, having thrown supplies of men and provisions into *Brescia*, went into quarters at *Verona*. Many of the exiled *Florentines*, who formed an army of themselves, were then at the court of *Milan*. The principles of patriotism were not perhaps so strong within them, as were those of revenge upon their enemies. All of them passionately wished to be restored to their country, and they were backed in their solicitations by *Picinino*, who pretended to be executor to *Braccio*, and sought to dispossess *Sforza* in his absence. But all this could not be effected without a war; and so great was the duke's caution, that he would not declare himself on that head till he should hear all that could be urged for it. *Picinino* assured him, that the relief of *Brescia* was impracticable; and that the siege might continue, though he should be sent with

with an army into *Tuscany*; that he would no sooner enter it, than the *Florentines* must be constrained either to submit to his will, or to recal *Sforza*; in either of which cases he must acquire a victory. The exiles gave the duke the strongest assurances, that his army would no sooner approach *Florence*, than the people, exasperated by taxes and tyrants, would declare unanimously for him; and that if he marched his army by the *Casentine*, it would meet with no opposition. The duke, at last, seemed to be determined; and the rather as he knew that *Giovanni Vetteleschi Cornettano*, first apostolic notary, then bishop of *Recanati*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, and cardinal of *Florence*, who commanded the pope's armies, where he had more power than the pope himself, was their enemy, on account of their having formerly banished *Rinaldo*, while under the pope's protection. He was encouraged likewise by a coldness that was growing between the *Venetians* and *Sforza*. Notwithstanding the bitter inclemency of the season, they were perpetually importuning him to employ his whole force in the relief of *Brescia*, which he absolutely refused to undertake till the spring, when he could be assisted with a fleet.

THE *Florentines* were no strangers to what was in agitation against them, and began to reflect that the *Venetians* had reaped the benefit of all they had done in *Lombardy*. They imagined that *Picinino* never would have abandoned the siege of *Brescia*, which was upon the point of surrendering, to march into *Tuscany*, unless he had been sure not only of being assisted by the army of the church, but of being joined by a party with whom he had correspondence in *Florence*. But their fears of *Vetteleschi* were soon quieted. We have several times taken notice of the excellent intelligence with which the *Florentines* always were furnished; and, like all other states, they sometimes employed means not strictly justifiable, particularly by spies and agents, who had the art of intercepting and inspecting letters. Some of those spies intercepted certain letters at *Monte-Pulciano*, a town in the *Siennese*, written in cypher by *Vetteleschi* to *Picinino*, which the *Florentines* sent to the pope. His holiness, who knew nothing of this correspondence, not able to decypher the letters, and jealous of the patriarch's great power in the army, resolved to destroy him. To do it the more securely, he communicated his intention to *Antonio Rido* of *Padua*, governor of the castle of *S. Angela*, ordering him to arrest the patriarch as soon as he could. An opportunity soon presented. The patriarch was secured while he was conversing with *Antonio* upon the draw-bridge of the

*Death of
Vetteleschi.*

castle. It was in vain for *Antonio* to endeavour to *loose* his prisoner under his reverse of fortune; for *Vetteleschi*, foreseeing his fate, died in a short time. Though we have given this important incident, as related by *Machiavel*, yet it seems, from the whole complexion of it, to have been a contrivance of the *Florentines* to work upon the pope's fears; or, which is more probable, a collusion between them and his holiness, who, though he durst not avow it in the patriarch's time, was the friend of *Florence*.

*A treaty of
peace.*

THE death of *Vetteleschi* did not quiet the apprehensions of the *Florentines* on account of *Picininò*, who was then on his march. The pope, being now freed from his master, could not behold his advancing to *Tuscany* with indifference; and he came into a league with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, engaging to hold in readiness four thousand horse and two thousand foot, for the defence of the *Florentine* dominions. Nothing now remained for the safety of the *Florentines*, but to make up the breach between *Sforza* and the *Venetians*. For this purpose they deputed *Neri di Gino Capponi* and *Giuliano d'Avanzati* to go to *Venice*. While they were off the road, they understood that *Picininò* had passed the *Po* with six thousand horse; and when they came to *Venice*, they found that senate in a state of despondency at *Brescia* not being relieved; and *Capponi*, as he had been instructed, set out for *Verona*, to confer with *Sforza* on that head. The latter gave him many military reasons why it was impracticable to relieve *Brescia* at that season; but, after several conferences, at which the *Venetian* deputies likewise assisted, it was agreed, that *Sforza* should receive eighty thousand, and each of the soldiers forty ducats, if he would immediately take the field, so as to oblige the duke of *Milan* to recal *Picininò*. The *Venetians*, who both hated and feared *Sforza*, durst not dispute those terms; but they trifled egregiously in fulfilling them, and a new scene opened in *Tuscany*.

*War re-
newed in
Tuscany.*

PICININO, having passed the *Po*, marched towards the *Romagna*, where he was joined by the *Malatesta* family, upon whose friendship both the *Florentines* and *Venetians* had great dependence; and the latter were afraid that their general *Orsino*, who lay on the frontiers of the *Romagna* with an army, should be defeated. This desertion of the *Malatestas* alarmed *Sforza* so much for his own dominions in the marquise of *Ancona*, that he repaired to *Venice*, where he told the senate, in a full assembly, that their only course now was to transfer the seat of war to *Tuscany*; declaring, at the same time, that as he came into *Lombardy* a sovereign prince, he was determined not to leave it a private subject. This pro-

posal

posal was strenuously opposed by the senate; and all that either party could be brought to consent to, was to wait for a few days, till it should be known what turn affairs would take in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, and how the pope was disposed towards his new allies. Intelligence soon came, that the pope still continued steady in the league, that *Orsino* was retired with his army to *Tuscany*, and that the *Malatesta* family had, in fact, been forced into their connections with *Piccinino*. *Sforza's* apprehensions were calmed by those accounts, and he consented that *Capponi* should return to *Tuscany* with fifteen hundred horse of his army; but engaged him at the same time to let him know of *Piccinino's* progress, promising, in case of danger, to leave all other concerns, and march to oppose him.

PICININO, having settled his affairs in the *Romagna*, Florence intended to force his way into *Tuscany* over the *Appennines*, attacked and by the valley of *Montone*; but he found the passes there by *Piccinino* so well guarded by *Nicolo de Pisa*, that he failed in his attempt. He therefore turned off towards *Maraddi*, another pass of the *Appennines*, which was guarded by *Orlandini*, a *Florentine* knight, whom he knew to be a coward. The pass, though not fortified, was defensible against all *Piccinino's* force, and the inhabitants were willing and brave; but the governor no sooner heard of *Piccinino's* approach, than he withdrew to *Burgo S. Lorenzo*: so that *Piccinino* entered the pass without resistance, and marched directly towards the valley of *Mugelli*, where he took some forts, and besieged *Monte-Pulciano*. While this siege lasted, he sent out parties, who over-ran and plundered the whole neighbouring country, and carried their incursions to within three miles of *Florence* itself. The *Florentines*, being now assured of support, were not so much alarmed as they usually had been with their danger. Their internal dissensions and jealousies had been quieted by the prudence and credit of *Cosmo de Medici*, who was beloved by all parties in the state. They knew the pope's auxiliaries were on their march, and the detachment under *Capponi* had already arrived at *Florence*. His arrival gave great spirit to the citizens; and as he was known to be an able officer, they committed to him the defence of their capital. He soon raised an army, with which he retook *Remoli* from *Piccinino*, whose quarters he likewise straitened so much, that he was obliged to remove to a greater distance from *Florence*.

PICININO, when he carried his arms into *Tuscany*, had great dependence upon an insurrection in *Florence*, of which he had assurances from the *Tuscan* exiles. Being disappointed of that, he resolved, if possible, to draw *Capponi* to

to a battle: *Francesco*, count of *Poppi*, who held considerable commands under the *Florentines*, had, from the affection he bore to *Rinaldo de Abizi*, deserted them, and joined *Piccinino* as soon as he entered *Tuscany*. By his advice, *Piccinino* marched into the *Casentine*, where he took *Elienna* and *Romena*, and besieged the castle of *S. Nicolds*, which stands on the confines of the *Casentine* and the vale of *Arno*. This castle, which was strong, made so good a defence, that the *Florentines* had time to draw together three thousand horse; the command of which they gave to *Orsino*, under whom *Papponi* and *Bernardo de Medici* served. The castle of *S. Nicolas* had now held out about thirty days, and messengers were sent from the garrison to the *Florentine* generals to implore their relief. The generals, after reconnoitring the situation of the place, and the dispositions of the enemy, judged that the attempt was impracticable; and after highly commending the fidelity of the inhabitants, they gave them leave to surrender, which they did on the 32d day of the siege.

his injudicious proceeding.

MACHIAVEL† is justly of opinion, that *Piccinino's* marching to the *Casentine* was the ruin of his expedition, and that he would have succeeded much better, had he continued the seat of war near *Florence*, where the citizens would have been soon tired of the expence attending it. But he was over-persuaded by count *Poppi*, who had private views of revenge to gratify. After reducing the castle of *S. Nicolas*, *Piccinino* took *Rassina* and *Chiufi*; and the count endeavoured to persuade him to remain in that country; but it proved so rocky, that *Piccinino* dryly told him his horses could not eat stones; and therefore he fell back to *Borgo S. Sepolchro*, in hopes of making himself master of *Citta di Castello*; but in this he failed, the inhabitants being in strict friendship with the *Florentines*. He made the like attempt upon the *Perugians*, and he entered *Perugia*, where the pope had a legate. The citizens treated him with civility, though he failed in his negociation; but he extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of eight thousand crowns. His next attempt was upon *Cortona*, then in the possession of the *Florentines*; and he formed a party in the city, which was to be delivered up to him in the night-time. The conspiracy, however, was discovered to *Bartolomeo Senso*, one of the citizens, and defeated; so that *Piccinino*, who was waiting at the gate, was obliged to return to his quarters.

WHILE *Piccinino*, who appears to have been a braver general than he was an able politician, was proceeding thus un-

† *MACHIAVEL*, book v.

successfully in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, matters in *Lombardy* did not wear a more favourable aspect for the duke of *Milan*. *Sforza*, perceiving his own dominions were out of danger, early in the spring made dispositions for raising the siege of *Brescia*. Being furnished by the *Venetians* with shipping, he entered the lakes that surrounded it, where he defeated the *Milanese* fleet, and retook all the neighbouring castles, which had been garrisoned by *Philip*, and this obliged his land-troops to withdraw. Thus *Brescia*, after a long siege, was relieved. *Brescia* re-
The *Milanese* army retreated to *Soncino* on the *Oglio*, from whence they were driven by *Sforza* to *Cremona*, where the duke of *Milan* made a stand; and in the mean time he sent positive orders for *Picinino* to evacuate *Tuscany*, and join him as soon as possible.

A. D.
1440.

ACCORDING to the best accounts, the city of *Florence* was then under an excellent government. The fear of *Picinino* had driven all the country people into their capital; so that a scarcity of provisions was dreaded, which might bring on mutinies and revolts. The wiser part of the *Florentines* however uniting, as we have already seen, under *Cosmo*, a most excellent choice was made of the ten field-deputies, now called the council of ten; and *Arètin*, the historian, was continued for two years in that station. By the time that *Picinino* received the duke of *Milan*'s orders for his return to *Lombardy*, the *Florentine* army was complete, by the junction of the troops of their allies. Their own force amounted to four thousand foot, and the horse which were brought out of *Lombardy* were commanded by *Michalotti*, as the foot were by *Orsino*. They were joined by two thousand of the pope's cavalry at *Arezzo*; and their whole army, being in high spirits, advanced to *Anghiari*, *Capponi* having the chief command over the whole. While they lay at *Anghiari*, which is a castle seated at the foot of the mountains dividing the vales of *Tevere* and *Chiana*, the magistrates of *Florence* received intelligence of *Picinino*'s recal, together with *Sforza*'s successes; and sent orders to their deputies not to hazard a battle, as they might gain all their ends without bloodshed. The *Florentine* exiles came to the knowledge of these orders, and, informing *Picinino* of them, they persuaded him that the *Florentine* army, thinking themselves perfectly secure, might be easily surprised, and that he had it now in his power to retrieve all his past disappointments by a glorious victory. *Picinino* believed all they said, and prevailed with the people of *Borgo S. Sepolchro* to join him with between two and three thousand

men, in hopes of sharing in his spoils. According to *Machiavel*^h, this plan of surprizal was very near succeeding; but *Aratin*ⁱ, perhaps for private reasons, conceals the circumstances.

*Picinino
defeated.*

THE *Florentine* army lay encamped on a fine level ground under the walls of *Anghiari*, and that of *Picinino* advanced with the utmost silence and secrecy between *Borgo S. Sepolchro* and *Citta di Castello*. According to *Machiavel*, his approach was not perceived (A) till *Michalotti*, discovering a great dust, the weather being then excessively hot, gave the alarm; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he and the other general-officers could assemble their troops, which were carelessly dispersed through the fields, or encamped without order or regularity. They got, however, under arms before *Picinino*, whose men were terribly fatigued by the heat and length of the march, could attack them. *Michalotti* commanded the van of the *Florentine* army, and marched down to dispute a bridge over which the enemy must pass. His promptness and presence of mind probably saved the *Florentine* army, because he held the enemy in play till the other generals drew up a line of infantry on each of his flanks. *Michalotti* repelled the first charge; but it was renewed with so much fury by *Picinino* in person, that *Michalotti* was driven from the bridge to the foot of the hill on which *Anghiari* stands. But *Picinino*'s men, in the pursuit, were flanked by the *Florentine* infantry, who plied them from their cross-bows; so that *Picinino* was again driven back to the bridge, where the dispute continued very sharp for two hours; during which it had been lost and won several times by both parties: but *Picinino*'s men were obliged to advance thro' a defile, and could only act in front; a circumstance that gave the victory to the *Florentines*. For the latter making a furious charge, drove the van of their enemies upon their center, and their center falling back on their rear, their whole army fell into disorder, and a total rout ensued, most of them flying towards *Borgo S. Sepolchro*. The *Florentines* were in much better condition than their enemies, who had not now strength for flying, and were taken prisoners almost without resistance, not above one thousand of them, and those too horse, with *Picinino* at their head, escaping to *Borgo*. The slaughter however, though the dispute lasted four hours, con-

^h *MACHIAVEL*, *ibid*.

ⁱ *ARATIN*, *ubi supra*.

(A) *Aratin*, *ubi supra*, tells us, that the *Florentine* army, being afraid of a surprize, had drawn themselves up close to

the walls of *Anghiari*, which the more emboldened *Picinino* to attack them, as thinking they were afraid.

sisted but in one man, who fell from his horse, and was trod to death. The reasons why the victory was so bloodless, were, first, the almost impenetrable armour in which the troops on both sides were cased; and, secondly, the avarice of the *Florentine* army, which was composed of mercenaries, who found their account in the ransom of the prisoners, and therefore they made as many as they could. Two thousand two hundred of the inhabitants of *Borgo S. Sepolchro* were taken, and put to ransom; so that the booty made by the *Florentine* army, in men, horses, money, and baggage, was very considerable.

HAD the *Florentines* followed their blow, they might have taken *Borgo S. Sepolchro*, while *Picinino* was within it; but their avarice was such, that they refused to proceed on any other service till they had secured their booty and their prisoners in *Arezzo*, which they accordingly did, none of the *Florentine* generals or commanders having authority enough to stop them. Bad discipline of the Florentines.

PICININO laid hold of that opportunity to escape with the remains of his army from *Borgo*, and he was followed by all the *Florentine* exiles, who, seeing their hopes of returning to their country now at an end, dispersed themselves into different places and countries. *Rinaldo de Albizi* retired to *Ancona*, and from thence visited the sepulchre of *Jesus Christ* at *Jerusalem*. Upon his return from thence, he was so fortunate, says *Machiavel*, as to die on the least unhappy day of all his exile, which was that of his daughter's marriage. Death of Rinaldo.

UPON the return of the *Florentine* troops from *Arezzo*, they presented themselves before *Borgo*; the inhabitants of which offered to surrender upon terms, which were refused them by the *Florentines*. The legate of the Holy See, to whom the town belonged, apprehending that the *Florentines* intended to make it their own, interposed, and thereby prevented their designs. In the mean while, the latter were at a loss to know the route that *Picinino* had taken, some affirming that he had gone to *Rome*, and others to *Ancona*. Upon this, the *Florentine* army divided itself. One party was appointed to march under *Bernardo de Meüvi* to *Perugia*, as the most proper station for succouring the dominions of his holiness, or of *Sforza*, should either of them be attacked. The other division was sent into the *Casentine* under the command of *Capponi*, who soon retook *Rassina*, *Bibbiana*, *Prato*, *Vecchio*, and *Rothena*. *Capponi* then laid siege to *Poppi*, where the count was. The place was strong, and might have made a vigorous defence, had it not disurnished itself of all its provisions and necessaries to supply *Picinino's* army. War in the Casentine.

The History of Florence.

army. After the siege was formed, the count offered to capitulate; but so exasperated were the *Florentines* at his conduct, that he could obtain no terms, but the liberty of departing with his wife, children, and portable goods; and that he should leave the *Florentines* in possession of all his estates.

to the advantage of Florence. THE count thought those terms extremely hard, and demanded a parley with *Capponi* upon a bridge over the *Arno*, which was granted him, and where he made a speech to move the conqueror's compassion, who rejected all his requests, and stuck by the terms that had been offered him (A). The count, with great indignation, submitted to his fate, and thus lost an estate which had been transmitted to him, from father to son, for four hundred years.

The war continues in Tuscany. THE gaining of the battle of *Anghiari* did vast service to the *Florentines*, because it preserved their independency; but was of no farther prejudice to the duke of *Milan*, than obliging him to ransom his soldiers, and remount his cavalry. The *Florentine* soldiery were enriched by it, each man's booty and prisoners being his own property; but no advantage accrued thereby to the state. Thus, as *Machiavel*^k well observes, a general, or a prince, had it always in his power to replace, with ready money, the arms and horses he had lost, and in a very short time again to appear in the field as formidable as ever. The consequence of this to the conquerors, as well as the conquered, was, that both were obliged to make fresh demands of money upon their subjects; the former, to continue and improve the advantages they had obtained; and the latter, to repair the losses they had suffered.

Danger of the duke of Milan. PICININO, after his defeat at *Anghiari*, in a few weeks was stronger in the field than he had been at the beginning of the campaign, and this gave a new turn to the affairs of *Lombardy*. The duke of *Milan*, after his retreat to *Cremona*, was so pressed by *Sforza*, that he was obliged to employ *Nicholas d'Este*, prince of *Ferrara*, to mediate a peace, not so much with the *Venetians*, as with their general. *D'Este* ac-

^k MACHIAVEL, book vi.

(A) The reader may have some idea of the authenticity of the speeches he so often meets with in the *Italian* and the other historians of those times, when we inform him, that the speech put into the count of *Poppi's* mouth on this occasion, by so

great a man, and so able a writer as *Machiavel*, is an almost literal translation of the famous one which *Tacitus* says was pronounced by the *British Caracallac*, when he appeared at *Rome* in chains before the tribunal of the emperor *Claudius*.

cordingly

accordingly repaired to *Peschiera*, where *Sforza* then was, and laid before him the consequences of the duke of *Milan's* being crushed by the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, who, when they had obtained their ends of him, would disregard *Sforza*, and reduce him to their own terms. He then, in the duke's name, offered to renew the treaty of marriage between his daughter and *Sforza*; and that the young lady should be sent to *Ferrara*, where he might espouse her as soon as the peace was finished.

SFORZA knew that a great deal of what the prince had said was true; but he was too well acquainted with the duke to trust him. He declared, that he had been so often baffled and disappointed in the marriage, that he could rely on no proposal of that kind; but that if the duke would conclude a peace with the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, who were equally desirous of it as he was, he would conduct himself in that, and all other affairs, as his friends should advise him. Notwithstanding this unpromising answer, *D'Este's* negotiation had great effects in the duke of *Milan's* favour. It revived the secret ambition *Sforza* had always entertained of becoming one day duke of *Milan*, and made him act more coolly against *Philip*. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, could not bear to see their general negotiate a separate treaty with their enemy, and they grew backward in furnishing him with supplies for the war; thus the time of action passed over without any thing remarkable being done in the field in *Lombardy*; and *Picinino*, arriving there the beginning of winter, all the armies retired into winter-quarters. *Sforza's* went into the *Veronese*, the duke of *Milan's* into the *Cremonese*, that of *Florence* returned to *Tuscany*, and that of the pope into the *Romagna*.

It is hardly credible how averse the people of *Italy* still were to the temporal government of the pope. The inhabitants of *Bologna* and *Forli* had submitted to *Picinino*, who had given his son the government of them. After the battle of *Anghiari*, his holiness attempted to reduce them; but they were so bravely defended by young *Picinino*, that he failed in his purpose. The inhabitants of *Ravenna*, however, alarmed at the neighbourhood of the pope's army, and dreading to fall again under his power, persuaded *Ostasio* of *Polenta*, who was their lord, to consent to surrender their city and territory to the *Venetians*, who, fearing that so noble a prize might be retaken from them, sent *Ostasio* and his son prisoners to *Candia*, where they died. Neither were the *Florentines* wholly without their indemnification for the expences they had sustained by the war; for his holiness found-

his finances so exhausted, that he sold to them the town of *Borgo St. Sepolcro*, for the small consideration of twenty-five thousand ducats.

War re-
newed in
Lombar-
dy

THE face of affairs was now changed in *Lombardy*. Upon the return of *Picinino*, the duke of *Milan*, who had taken care to ransom all his soldiers who had been made prisoners at the battle of *Anghiari*, soon remounted his cavalry, dropt all farther mention of peace, and, though it was yet winter, he put *Picinino* in a condition to make a better figure in the field than ever. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, intent upon new acquisitions, and still jealous of *Sforza*, had neglected the war in *Lombardy*; and *Sforza* was obliged to go in person to *Venice*, to concert with the senate the operations of the ensuing campaign. While he was there, *Ciarpellone*, one of *Sforza*'s best officers, entered into the duke of *Milan*'s service; and *Picinino*, passing the *Adda*, took possession of a large tract of country near *Brescia*, and, at the same time, surprised and carried off two thousand of *Sforza*'s horses. This news obliged *Sforza* to break off his conferences at *Venice*; but he first prevailed with the *Venetians* to recal their troops from *Tuscany*, and to give the command of them to his kinsman *Michalotti*.

Between
Sforza

By this time *Picinino* had returned to winter-quarters; but in the spring he besieged *Cignano*, a fortress about twelve miles from *Brescia*. *Sforza* marched to relieve it, and at the same time besieged *Martinengo*. Both generals, on this occasion, displayed all the art of war then in use; but the fortune of *Picinino* prevailed; for, leaving *Cignano*, he laid siege to *Bergamo*, while *Sforza* was before *Martinengo*, which was well provided for a defence; but *Picinino* gained a post which cut *Sforza* off from all his provisions, and was at the same time impregnable, so that *Sforza*'s army was more effectually besieged than *Martinengo* was by him; and there was a probability that they must in a few days surrender prisoners of war.

and Pici-
nino.

NOTHING can give us a better idea of the spirit of the mercenaries of that age than *Picinino*'s conduct on this occasion. Having made such dispositions, that he thought it was impossible for *Sforza* and his army to escape, he sent to acquaint the duke of *Milan* that it was now in his (*Picinino*'s) power, to make him master of all *Lombardy*; but that, after serving him a long time in the field, he had not gained for himself so much earth as would bury him; that, as the victory was certain, so should the reward be, and therefore he demanded the city and territory of *Piacenza*, where he might repose himself after his labours. This insolent message induced the duke of *Milan*, in good earnest, to treat with

Sforza.

Sforza. He sent to him *Antonio Guido Buono of Fortona*, and offered instantly to conclude the marriage between him and his daughter, and to give in dower with her the city of *Cremona*, with other advantageous terms, both for him and the *Venetians*. These were readily embraced, and the treaty was privately agreed to by all parties. The duke of *Milan*, upon this, sent a positive order for *Picinino* to make a truce with *Sforza* for a year. *Picinino*, alarmed and confounded by this order, made such difficulties to obey it, that the duke was obliged to threaten to withdraw from him his protection, and to give him up either to his own soldiers, or his enemies. *Sforza* *Picinino* thus finding the duke resolute, obeyed, but with the utmost reluctance; and *Sforza*'s marriage with *Biancha*, the duke of *Milan*'s daughter, was celebrated, and all the other terms of the peace complied with.

In November 1441, the late treaty between the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, was ratified; and by that the *Venetians* gained *Peschiera*, *Asola*, and *Leonato*, fortresses in the *Mantuan*. But while peace was thus restored to *Lombardy*, a new war was kindled up in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *Alphonso*, who had prevailed over his antagonists *Regnier*, seized upon *Benevento*, and all *Sforza*'s estates. Upon this *Regnier*, who still held the city of *Naples*, invited *Sforza* to join him, while *Alphonso* earnestly applied to his former ally the duke of *Milan*, to prevail with him to give *Sforza* such a diversion, as that he might be of no service to *Regnier*. The duke, notwithstanding the late peace concluded in *Lombardy*, entered into *Alphonso*'s views, by prevailing with the pope to attempt to retake the estates which had been dismembered from the church's patrimony by *Sforza*. Those estates were very considerable, and had again and again been confirmed to *Sforza* by the popes, though he made little account of their authority. Pope *Eugene*, encouraged by the duke of *Milan*, who offered to send *Picinino* and his army to his assistance, which he did, took the field, and began hostilities against *Sforza*'s dominions in the marquisate of *Ancona*. *Sforza*, being thus obliged to march to the relief of his own dominions, *Alphonso* took *Naples*, and forced his competitor to take refuge at *Florence*, where he was kindly received, and from whence he went to *Marseilles*. *Picinino*, and the pope's troops, prevailing against *Sforza* in the marquisate, he was obliged to apply to the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* for assistance. *Annibal Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, some time before this, had solicited assistance from the *Florentines* against *Picinino*, and they had favoured his request, so that they could not immediately return an answer to *Sforza*, who re-

War in
Tuscany,

which is
invaded by
Alphonso

presented to them, that the liberties of all *Italy* were on the point of being swallowed up by three great powers; the duke of *Milan*, the pope, and the king of *Naples*. This consideration, and the success of *Bentivoglio* against *Picinino*, determined them to assist *Sforza*; but, if possible, without breaking with the duke of *Milan*, who had no farther concern in the war than to obtain the quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples* for *Alphonso*, which was now effected. The *Florentines* therefore sent a deputation, frankly telling the duke that they intended to assist his son-in-law; but requesting him, at the same time, to renew his league with them. The duke not only readily agreed to this, but prevailed with *Alphonso* to desist from all hostilities in *Ancona*, and retire to *Naples*; while the *Florentines* furnished *Sforza* with the assistance he required.

It is certain, from the prodigious success of the *Florentines*, in dissipating or disappointing the powerful confederacies formed against them, that their internal government, for some time, had been in able hands; but the pestilence, common to popular establishments, now broke out. *Neri di Capponi* became so popular, by his own great services to the state, and those of his father, who had reduced *Pisa*, that *Cosmo de Medici* grew jealous of him; not from any malevolence in his own nature, but because he well knew that two interests, of the same authority, could not long subsist in a popular state without one of them being ruined. *Baldaccio* of *Angbiari* was then general of the *Florentine* infantry; a man, who, in accomplishments, virtue, courage, and personal qualifications, was second to none in *Italy*. An intimate friendship, of the most laudable kind, subsisted between him and *Capponi*; and his credit with the troops was so great, that it was dangerous to proceed against him in the ordinary forms of justice, though his crimes were no other than his abilities and his popularity. *Capponi*'s enemies thought it necessary to humble him, by taking off *Baldaccio*; and they had a most convenient tool for that purpose in *Orlandini*, the same who had so infamously betrayed the pass of *Maraddi* to *Picinino*, being then gonfalonier of the people. *Baldaccio*, before *Orlandini* was advanced to that high station, had often bitterly reproached him for his cowardly conduct; and his enemies improved *Orlandini*'s resentment, so as to make him resolve to assassinate *Baldaccio*. For this purpose, he engaged some ruffians, whom he concealed within his apartments in the palace; and *Baldaccio*, in a day or two after, coming to the piazza as usual, to treat upon some business, was accosted by the gonfalonier, who artfully drew him towards his apartments,

Assassina-
tion of Bal-
daccio.

ments, where he was assassinated by the russians. The barbarity of *Baldaccio's* enemies was not satisfied with his death. His body was thrown out of one of the windows of the palace, and his head being cut off, was exposed a whole day to the people. *Machiavel*^a himself pays a just tribute of praise on this occasion to the memory of *Baldaccio's* widow *Anna-terria*, the mother of his only son, who refusing, after her husband's death, the most advantageous matches, associated herself with some noble matrons of her own principles, converted her house to a monastery, and there lived and died in holy retirement.

No internal commotion followed the infamous assassination of *Baldaccio*; so profound, at this time, was the veneration of the *Florentines* for their legal governors, whose ten years power was now almost expired. But in the year 1444 a new Balia was erected, which continued them in their offices, gave them new powers, and, by virtue of those, they turned out of authority all whom they so much as suspected to be their enemies; some of whom they imprisoned, and banished others, every thing being now settled according to the mind of the governing party in *Florence*. They then applied themselves to foreign affairs. *Picinino*, though abandoned by *Alphonso*, and not countenanced by the duke of *Milan*, still continued the war in the *Romagna*; but was defeated by *Sforza*, through the assistance lent him by the *Florentines*, and obliged to take refuge in *Montecchio*. Here he fortified himself so effectually as to bid defiance to *Sforza*, who, knowing his active genius, applied to the duke of *Milan* to recal him. Before the duke came to a determination, *Picinino* had reassembled his troops, and, by the assistance of *Alphonso* and the pope, took the field at the head of an army far superior to that of *Sforza*. Upon this the duke of *Milan* sent a message for *Picinino* to confer with him, which was so well received, that *Picinino*, leaving the command of his army to his son *Francis*, posted to *Milan*. *Sforza* did not omit that opportunity of attacking *Picinino's* army, which he entirely defeated, and took *Francis* prisoner. *Picinino*, upon the news of this defeat, and his perceiving that he was deceived by the duke of *Milan*, died of heart-break in the year 1445. In him the hopes of the *Brachian* forces, between whom, and those of *Sforza*, all *Italy* had been so long divided, were extinguished. The scale of war had been long suspended between those two bodies of mercenaries, each of whom was headed by great men. The first *Sforza*, from a mean birth,

A. D.

1444.

New regulations in Florence.

Death of Picinino.

A. D.

1445.

^a MACHIAVEL; book vi.

came to be a considerable prince. *Braccio's* birth was noble, as were his actions, in which he rivalled *Sforza*; but he died as a mercenary, and the same rivalship which had subsisted between the first *Sforza* and *Braccio*, descended to the second *Sforza* and *Piccinino*, the companion and inheritor of *Braccio's* fortunes. It is however evident, that the genius of the younger *Sforza* had the ascendant over that of *Piccinino*, who was a brave and an able commander, but defective in judgment every where but in action.

A peace
concluded.

UPON the death of *Piccinino*, and the defeat of his forces, the pope, not daring to trust to the king of *Naples*, employed the *Florentines* to mediate a peace for him with *Sforza*; in which they succeeded, and by it *Oscimo*, *Recanati*, and *Fabriziano*, a village equal to most cities, were yielded to the pope, and *Sforza* was continued in all his other possessions in the marquisate of *Ancona*: and thus the peace of *Italy* seemed to be for some time secured, when it was again disturbed by the *Bolognese*. *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who had driven *Piccinino* out of *Bologna*, had formed a league between the *Bolognese*, the *Florentines*, and *Venetians*, at which the duke of *Milan* was secretly uneasy. *Battista Caneschi*, the head of a powerful family in the *Bolognese*, and in alliance, but not in friendship, with that of *Bentivoglio*, knew that the duke of *Milan's* great ambition was to become master of that city; and *Battista* engaged to put him in possession of it, by dispatching his rival *Bentivoglio*, which he actually did on the twenty-fourth of *June*, 1445. He had been promised to be supported by the duke of *Milan*; and the *Venetian* and *Florentine* deputies then residing at *Bologna*, not knowing how far the conspiracy might extend, confined themselves to their own houses. The *Bolognese*, however, in general detesting the assassination of *Bentivoglio*, ran to arms, defeated the *Caneschi* family and party, drove them out of the city, and, dragging *Battista* from a corn-chest where he had concealed himself, put him to death, no succours from the duke of *Milan* having appeared. The *Bolognese* were now at a loss for a head. They adored the *Bentivoglio* family; but *Annibal* had left behind him only a son of six years old, and his relations began to quarrel amongst themselves about the government of the city. The count of *Poppi*, whom we have already mentioned, was then at *Bologna*; and, perceiving how the city was divided, he intimated to some of the leading men, that he could furnish them with a descendant from *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who could head them. Upon enquiry, he affirmed that *Hercules*, the son of *Annibal*, happening about twenty years before to be at *Poppi*, had begot a son called *Santi*,
whose

Affairs of
Bologna.

whose countenance resembled *Hercules* so much, that it was a sufficient proof of his original. He added, that *Hercules* had always acknowledged him to be his, though the mother, who was married, had educated him as the son of her husband, who was now dead, and whose name was *Agnolo Cascese*. The *Bolognese*, eagerly attached to the *Bentivoglio* family, eagerly embraced the proposal, and sent deputies to the *Florentines*, in whose possession the count's estates were, to send the young man, who was now about twenty years of age, to take upon him the administration of their affairs. The matter was referred to *Cosmo de Medici*, and *Neri di Capponi*; but they proceeded cautiously. The youth was then living with his reputed uncle *Antonio Cascese*, who being rich, and childless, intended to make him his heir; a prospect which the young man thought preferable to his promised greatness. Being sent for to appear before *Cosmo* and the *Bolognese* deputies, the latter no sooner saw him than they recognized and almost adored him; but still the youth seemed to be backward as to the proposal. At last, *Cosmo* taking him aside, talked to him, according to *Machiavel*^b, in the following terms. "None can in this case advise thee better than thyself, for thou art to make that choice which thou findest thy own soul inclinable to; and if thou be the son of *Hercules Bentivoglio*, thou wilt dispose thyself to actions worthy that house and family; but if thou be the son of *Agnolo Cascese*, thou wilt content thyself to stay in *Florence*, and follow his mean trade of dressing wool." Those words aroused the youth to ambition. He resigned himself entirely to *Cosmo* and *Capponi*, who persuaded the *Florentines* to furnish him with dress and equipages suiting the station to which he was called; and he set out for *Bologna*, where he received the charge of the *Bentivoglio* family, which he managed with so much prudence, that he lived with honour, and died in peace; a happiness denied to his ancestors.

THE duke of *Milan*, after *Picinin's* death, being at a loss for a general to command his troops, treated with *Ciarpellone* before-mentioned, to whom he had given some possessions in the *Milanese*. *Sforza* had some notice of the negotiation; and when *Ciarpellone* applied for leave to repair to the *Milanese*, *Sforza* laid him under arrest, and then put him to death. This incident was far from being displeasing to the *Florentines*, who were apprehensive of nothing more than they were of the good understanding between *Sforza* and the duke of *Milan*, who hearing the cause of *Ciarpellone's* death, resolved to

Ciarpellone put to death.

^b Ibid. book vi.

be revenged upon *Sforza*, whose son-in-law was *Gismond Malatesta* lord of *Rimini*.

The duke of Milan applies to the king of Naples.

THIS *Gismond* had pretensions upon *Pesaro* and *Urbino*; the first of which *Sforza* gave to his brother *Alexander*, and the other to *Frederick* of *Montefeltro*, *Gismond's* professed enemy. The duke of *Milan* sided with *Gismond*, and brought the pope and the king of *Naples* over to the same party: *Ancona* thereby became the seat of war; and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* favouring *Sforza*, he seized upon all *Gismond's* estates. On the other hand, the duke attempted to take from *Sforza*, *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*; but failed in both undertakings: the latter being defended by the *Florentines*, and the former by the *Venetians*. *Francis Picinino* was then general of the duke of *Milan's* army; but was totally defeated at *Casal* by *Michalotti* the *Venetian* general. The duke being then blind, aged, and infirm, the *Venetians* pushed their conquests beyond the *Adda* to the very gates of *Milan*. Upon this the duke applied for assistance to the king of *Naples*, who could send him no troops without their fighting their way through the *Florentine* territories, and those of *Sforza*.

Sforza joins the duke of Milan.

THE reader is not to imagine, amidst all those complications of affairs, either enmity or friendship had the smallest share. Both of them were produced by interest; and the balance of power in *Italy*, was the great aim for which all parties either negotiated or fought. No sooner were the *Venetians* victorious, than *Sforza* grew jealous of their greatness, and began to listen to terms with his father-in-law, who, in the most moving manner, solicited his friendship. *Sforza* was the more disposed to this, as he perceived the *Venetians* began now to trust to their own power, and were slow in supplying him with money. The *Florentines*, from the like motives, were equally backward; but it must be acknowledged that *Sforza* on this, and indeed on most other occasions, behaved like an able politician. He knew that the great aim of the *Venetians* was to deprive him of his succession to *Milan*; but, though the duke offered to make him general of all his forces, provided he would leave the service of *Venice*, and compromise affairs with the pope, he kept himself undetermined. The *Venetians*, sensible how extremely advantageous the duke's offers were to *Sforza*, reminded him of the obligations he lay under to them for preserving *Cremona*, and promised to him *Milan* if they should conquer it, together with the perpetual command of their armies, if he would continue the war and obstruct the march of the *Neapolitan* forces to *Lombardy*. *Sforza*, after long deliberation on a choice so difficult in its own nature to determine, thought that the

Venetian

Venetian offers were too extravagant to be sincere; and that, if he was successful, he must take the law from them. He therefore hesitated upon his answer; and the *Venetians*, afraid that he would determine himself in favour of the duke, attempted to surprise *Cremona*, but were baffled by *Sforza's* garrison; upon which he immediately resolved to take part with his father-in-law.

SFORZA at that time lay at *Cotignola*, and was preparing to march to his father-in-law's assistance when he heard of his death, which happened on the last day of *August*, *who dies*, 1457. This news threw him into infinite perplexities. Through the backwardness of the *Venetians*, he was greatly in arrears to his troops, who he was afraid would mutiny. He could not trust to the *Florentines*, whom he knew to be strictly allied with the *Venetians*, now his declared enemies. He could expect little assistance from the reigning pope, who was *Nicholas V.* because he was in possession of great part of the church's patrimony; and the king of *Naples* had always professed himself to be his implacable adversary. He therefore wisely resolved to depend on his own courage and fortune. He instantly marched into the *Bolognese*, passed by *Modena* and *Reggio*, and offered his service to the *Milanese* to defend them against the *Venetians*. The state of *Milan* was then *Sforza's* greatly divided. Some were for converting their government *difficulties* into a republic, resembling that of *Florence*; some were for submitting to *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*; and some for receiving *Sforza* for their master; while others inclined to the *Venetians*. Those differences were not unfavourable to *Sforza's* views: he repaired to *Cremona*, and there he received deputies from the *Milanese*, who offered to make him general of their troops upon the terms he had concluded with the late duke, and to give him *Brescia* and *Verona*, as soon as he could conquer the latter. Pope *Nicholas*, upon his accession to the papedom, with a view of making a general peace in *Italy*, had proposed to the *Florentine* deputies a congress at *Ferrara*, to which all the princes and states of *Italy* should send plenipotentiaries. This was agreed to by the *Florentines*, and their ambassadors, with those from *Venice* and *Milan*, repaired to it; but the king of *Naples* stood out. He had advanced as far as *Tivoli* to the assistance of the late duke, and threatened to force his way through the *Florentine* territories. Notwithstanding this, the congress at *Ferrara* still went on; and, after many debates, it *A congress* was agreed, that the duke of *Milan* should make his choice *at Ferrara*, either of a perpetual peace, or a truce for five years; but the deputies, who were to carry him the option, found him dead.

Divisions amongst the Milanese. NOTWITHSTANDING this, the regency of *Milan* would have stood to the agreement; but *Lodi* and *Piacenza*, two places of great importance, having submitted to the *Venetians* after the duke's death, the latter thought that all the *Milanese* would follow their example, and that they either would force or persuade the rest of the late duke's subjects to submit to them. They were the more encouraged in this, because the *Florentines*, whom they knew to be extremely jealous of the ballance of power in *Italy*, had at this time sufficient employment in opposing *Alphonso's* passage through their state. He had already made himself master, by a conspiracy, of the castle of *Cennina*, in the upper vale of *Arno*; which alarmed the *Florentines* so much, that they immediately appointed their ten field-deputies, and made preparations for war with so much vigour, that *Alphonso* marched into the *Siennese*, in hopes to bring that city to join him. The inhabitants, however, were so faithful to their attachments to *Florence*, that all he could obtain from them was some provision for his army, which they durst not refuse him. By it's time the *Florentines* had an army on foot, and had retaken *Cennina*. *Alphonso*, upon that, took several forts in the *Volterrane*; and from thence he marched to the *Pisan* territories, and made himself master of some places, by the favour of the counts of *Guardefia*; but he failed in his design upon *Campegli*, the winter being far advanced, and the place making a strong resistance; so that, after throwing garrisons into the places he had taken, he went into winter-quarters in the *Siennese*.

He was no sooner retired than the *Florentines* took the field, in the depth of a most bitter winter. Their generals were *Frederic* lord of *Urbino*, and *Gismond Malatesta*; and some differences, that subsisted between them, being reconciled by the prudence of *Capponi* and *Bernardo de Medici*, they not only retook all the towns the *Florentines* had lost in the territories of *Pisa* and *Volterra*, but straitened the *Neapolitans* in their quarters. Spring coming on, both armies received reinforcements; though that of *Alphonso*, consisting of fifteen thousand men, was by far the strongest. The *Florentines* marched to *Spadaletto*, and the *Neapolitans* to *Campegli*; but, turning suddenly off, they besieged *Piombino*, a place of the utmost importance both to *Florence* and *Pisa*. This laid the *Florentines* under great difficulties: they armed four vessels which they had at *Leghorn*, and sent them to *Piombino*, with three hundred men on board; while the main body of their army took post at *Caldacce*, from whence they could harraße the besiegers. While they were in this station, they suffered great distress for want of provisions, especially wine; while they per-

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perceived that their enemy's army had plenty of every thing brought them by sea. They attempted to supply themselves in the same manner; but their ships were intercepted by *Alphonso's* galleys, and two of them taken, while the others were obliged to put back. This disappointment raised a kind of mutiny in the *Florentine* army, so that many of them deserted to *Alphonso*; and even those that remained refused to serve longer in a place where they were exposed to parching heats, without either wine or wholesome water to drink. This obliged the generals to move their camp. But *Alphonso's* army, tho' plentifully supplied with provisions, began now to be infected with pestilential diseases, and a treaty of peace was set on foot. The terms demanded by *Alphonso* were, that he should be paid fifty thousand ducats for the expence of the war, and be put in possession of *Piombino*. The *Florentines* were so tired of the war, that they were inclinable to have accepted of those terms; when *Capponi*, arriving at the army, persuaded them to reject them, and to indemnify the lord of *Piombino* for the vigorous defence the place had made, which the *Florentines* unanimously agreed to do. When *Alphonso* heard of this resolution, he found himself under the necessity of shamefully raising the siege, after losing two thousand men before *which is* the place; and he retreated first to *Sienna*, and from thence *raised* to his own country, menacing to return next spring, and to be revenged for the affronts and injuries he had received. In the mean while, *Sforza* brought over to his views young *Piccinino*; and taking the field, he marched against *Pavia*. The *Progress of* inhabitants were in no condition to resist him; but had a *Sforza* strong aversion to the *Milanese* government, and therefore offered to give up their city to *Sforza*, provided he did not subject them to the *Milanese*. He would gladly have embraced their offer, and have performed the condition; but he had some measures still to keep with the *Milanese*; and a new power, that of the duke of *Savoy*, now started up in *Italy*, and threatened an alteration in her political system. By accepting of the government of *Pavia*, he was afraid of exasperating the *Milanese*, so as to make them throw themselves under the protection or government of the *Venetians*; and if he did not accept of it, there was a party within the place ready to give it up to the duke of *Savoy*. He thought, however, the consequence of accepting was preferable to that of refusing it. He accordingly took possession of *Pavia*, for which he apologized to the *Milanese* by urging, that it was much safer for them that he should have it, than either the *Venetians* or the duke of *Savoy*. This excuse would not have satisfied the *Milanese*, had they not been beset with other difficulties,

facilities, and secretly detested the *Venetians*. They seemed therefore to take all that *Sforza* had done in good part, and he continued to head their troops.

CHARLES of *Orleans*, nephew to the late duke of *Milan* by his sister, was a pretender, in right of blood, to that duchy, and he was abetted by the duke of *Savoy* and the *Genoese*; but his pretensions were soon quieted by *Sforza*, who was employed against him: while the *Venetians*, supported by a strong party amongst the *Milanese* themselves, carried on the war with great advantage, being still masters of *Lodi* and *Piacenza*. *Sforza*, with great difficulty, retook *Piacenza*; and had the *Venetians* been willing to have given up *Lodi*, a peace must have ensued: so much did they smart under the burden of the war, and so jealous they were of their general, whom they were obliged to trust. They sent him orders to besiege *Caravaggio*, which, against his inclination, he obeyed; and the *Venetians*, in attempting to raise the siege, received the greatest defeat they had ever sustained, not above one thousand of their horse, out of twelve thousand, escaping. After this, *Sforza*, who, according to *Machiavel*^a, behaved with great magnanimity, marched into the *Brescian* territory, within two miles of that city.

The Florentines assist the Venetians.

The *Venetians*, after their defeat at *Caravaggio*, and collecting the broken remains of their troops, perceived that their surest resource lay in the *Florentines*. All they aimed at, was to be in a condition to make a tolerable peace; which they soon effected by the fresh levies they made, and the assistance of two thousand horse and one thousand foot sent them by the *Florentines*, who were now unmolested by *Alphonso*. Their view was to make a separate peace with *Sforza*, to render him the more odious to the *Milanese*. *Sforza*, on the other hand, knowing on what terms he stood with the latter, readily came into the proposal. A treaty was concluded, by which *Sforza* agreed to return to the *Venetians* all the plunder, prisoners, and places, that had been taken from them in the course of the war; while they were to assist him with twenty-five thousand florins a month, four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, till he had conquered *Milan*. The news of this treaty arriving at that city, reduced the *Milanese* to such despair, that they sent ambassadors, not to treat with *Sforza*, but to revile and upbraid him with his conduct. This they did in the most bitter manner, denouncing the heaviest imprecations upon him and his posterity for his treachery and ingratitude towards their state. *Sforza* heard them without any apparent

^a *MACHIAVEL*, book vi.

emotion, and recriminated upon them the charge of ingratitude, appealing to heaven for the rectitude of his conduct. The deputies leaving him, *Sforza* immediately advanced with his army to *Milan*, which was defended by the inhabitants under *Francis* and *Jacob*, the two sons of *Piccinino*, from their hereditary hatred to *Sforza*. The *Milanese* hoped to defend themselves till *Sforza* and the *Venetians* should quarrel, an event by no means improbable. *Sforza*, on the other hand, to keep the *Venetians* firm to his interest, relinquished to them the fine city of *Crema*, situated on the river *Serchio* in the *Crema* *masco*, if they could conquer it; and having subdued all the *Milanese* to the gates of that capital, he formally besieged it.

THE inhabitants, finding that they must submit, made an attempt upon the humanity of the *Venetians*, whom they con-*A peace.* jured, by all the bonds of liberty and ancient friendship, not to give them up to a tyrant, whose ambition was insatiable, and which, if successful, would prove a scourge to *Venice* itself. The *Venetians* were then pressing the siege of *Crema*, which they resolved to make themselves masters of before they gave the *Milanese* an explicit answer. They however privately promised them assistance; and having taken *Crema*, while *Sforza's* soldiers were plundering the suburbs of *Milan*, they then openly declared their intention to make peace with the *Milanese*, which they soon did; by promising to defend *Milan* in the possession of its newly acquired liberty. They next intimated the peace they had made to *Sforza*, and ordered their troops under him to withdraw from his army, allowing him twenty days to come to a resolution upon his being included in the peace, or not. *Sforza*, though he had long foreseen it, was shocked at this agreement. He kept the *Venetian* deputies for two days about his person, without returning them any answer; but at last he pretended a readiness to accede to the peace, and nominated ambassadors to repair to *Milan*, and ratify it. He gave them, however, secret instructions to raise quibbles and difficulties, in order to gain time, and not to ratify it at all. We are now to return to the affairs of *Florence*, which, in the subsequent part of the history, could not have been understood, without relating what had happened in *Lombardy*.

THOUGH *Florence* at this time was neutral in the disputes between the *Venetians* and the *Milanese*, yet it was the scene of great intrigue and action. The *Turks* were then so powerful, that they threatened the extinction of the *Greek* empire; the head of which, *John Paleologus*, had promised to submit to the *Latin* church, provided the western powers would assist him

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1439.

Arrival of
the Greek
emperor in
Italy.

him against the infidels. Though this offer was highly against the sentiments both of his clergy and his people, yet the glory of converting a *Greek* emperor was too important a circumstance for the pope to disregard. The council of *Basil*, who declared itself superior to the pope, had voted money and ships for bringing the emperor over to that city, where they intended to settle the reconciliation. The pope was then at *Florence*; but he had his emissaries at *Basil*, who surreptitiously voted, that the emperor should be received at *Florence*, or *Ferrara*, to which last city the pope had adjourned the assembly. They even broke open the box where the seals of the council lay, and affixed them to this impudent forgery, which they had reduced into the form of a decree. The pope's galleys, being ready before those of the council, repaired to *Constantinople*, with money sufficient for the expences of the emperor; and there they took him on board, with his patriarch, and a few of his clergy, who were willing, for convenience, to follow his example. The pope received them at *Ferrara*, where, after a few ridiculous disputes, they were reconciled to the *Roman* church; but neither the emperor nor his clergy kissed the toe of his holiness, or in the least descended from the dignity of their characters.

Disputes
between
Cosmo
and Cap-
poni.

FROM *Ferrara* the pope adjourned the council to *Florence*, as being a nobler scene for his triumph, and there the reconciliation was to be fully and finally completed. According to *Aretin*^b, no fewer than five hundred *Greeks* were then at *Florence*; amongst whom, besides the emperor and the patriarch, were the emperor's brother, many archbishops and bishops, and other persons of the highest distinction and learning. Every thing succeeded as the pope, who was a man of great temper as well as abilities, proposed. The *Greek* ecclesiastics embraced the opinion of purgatory; and the emperor, the patriarch, and the other prelates, subscribed to the supremacy of the *Roman* church.

SCARCELY was this great transaction finished, when the state of affairs in *Lombardy* fell under the consideration of the *Florentines*, and revived the factions in their city. The temporizing conduct of *Sforza*, who made a truce for a month with the *Milanese*, and had withdrawn his troops, deceived both them and the *Venetians*. The former, no longer oppressed by his army, grew indolent and unguarded; and the *Venetians*, thinking peace as good as concluded, gave over all preparations for continuing the war. *Sforza* improved this breathing time to his own purposes. During it, he recruited

^b ARETIN. ubi supra.

and refreshed his army, and applied to the *Florentines* for assistance. His chief reliance was on *Cosmo de Medici*, who had always proved himself his friend, and in his greatest difficulties had supplied him out of his private purse; but when *Cosmo* proposed to the magistracy that *Sforza* should be supported, he met with great opposition. *Neri di Capponi* was at the head of a powerful party, who declared for assisting the *Milanese* to the utmost in preserving their liberty; and that it was for the interest of *Florence* that *Italy* should be divided into as many small states as possible. They added, that, if either *Sforza* or the *Venetians* should acquire the mastery of *Milan*, *Florence* would then have too powerful a neighbour; but that, separately, each might be a useful ally.

COSMO's party thought that *Capponi* urged those reasons, however specious and indeed solid they might be, against *Sforza*, only because he was *Cosmo*'s friend. This rendered the latter more vigorous in defence of his opinion: he urged, that the *Milanese* were so over-run with faction, and were so imperfect in their ideas of civil government, that, if left to themselves, they would soon forfeit their liberty; and that *Sforza* was an ally far preferable to the *Venetians*; that it was more probable that *Milan* would yield to him than to the *Venetians*, because he had within it a strong party, and they none; and that the *Florentines*; by their intercession, might forfeit his favour.

THOSE debates, managed by two citizens of such eminence and abilities as *Cosmo* and *Capponi* were, kept *Florence* for some time in suspense; and at last the magistracy came to a resolution, favouring of the policy of the times, which was to send deputies to *Sforza*, who, if they found him powerful and prevalent, were to agree to grant him all his demands; if otherwise, to accuse him with delays and difficulties. But by this time, both *Sforza* and the *Venetians* had taken the field. Though it was still winter, the *Venetians* had advanced to the banks of the *Adda*; from whence they sent agents to *Milan*, with mighty promises of success against *Sforza*, if the inhabitants could be prevailed upon to hold out for a little time. The eldest *Picinino* was now dead, and the command of the *Milanese* garrison devolved upon his brother *Jacob*; and, during the winter, *Sforza* had several skirmishes with the *Venetians*, who were hated by *Pandolfo Malatesta*. After many deliberations, whether *Milan* should be relieved by hazarding a battle, or by the *Venetians* keeping the posts where they were, by which they greatly straitened *Sforza*'s army, now in want of forage and provisions, *Pandolfo*'s opinion prevailed for the latter; and the rather, because the greater the necessities to

which

which the *Milanese* were driven, they would the more readily submit to the *Venetians*.

of BUT necessity, on this occasion, cut asunder the lines of policy. In proportion as *Sforza* himself was straitened, he straitened the inhabitants of *Milan*, till multitudes died of mere want in their streets, and discontent and murmurs filled the whole city. Two persons, who had entered into a discourse about the public miseries, being overheard by others who joined them, as they were by others, till the company grew great, and their clamours outrageous. They then chose one *Jasper* of *Vicomeriata* for their leader, broke into the palace of their magistrates, where they put to death all who did not save themselves by flight, and tore in pieces *Leonard Kinetto*, the *Venetian* ambassador, whom they looked upon as the main spring of all their miseries. They next began to consider how they were to proceed. Some were for submitting to the *French* king, some to the king of *Naples*, and some to the duke of *Savoy*; but so inveterate they were against *Sforza*, that none mentioned him. At last *Jasper*, who had gained great authority over the assembly, finding them irreconcilably undetermined amongst themselves, proposed *Sforza* to be the master of *Milan*. He proved to his fellow citizens that their present condition was such, that it could admit of no uncertainties or delays; that though *Sforza* had been their enemy, yet he was a brave man, and the most likely person in the world to protect them; and that he had been forced by the falsehood and injustice of the *Venetians*, and the other states of *Italy*, to do all that he had done against them. In short, that as it was now evident they must part with their liberty, they could not chuse a better master. This speech was received with wonderful applause, and the assembly were more unanimous in making *Sforza* their master, than they had been in declaring him their enemy. *Jasper* was then sent their ambassador to give him the invitation; and *Milan*, on the 26th of *February*, 1450, with the utmost joy and magnificence, received *Sforza* as its master.

State of
Italy.

THIS news reaching *Florence*, couriers were dispatched after the deputies, now on their road to *Sforza's* camp, with orders not to treat with him, but to congratulate him upon his accession to the sovereignty of *Milan*. *Sforza* received the *Florentine* ambassadors with demonstrations of the most cordial friendship, as coming from the only people in *Italy* on whom he could rely as his natural allies. Thus *Italy* was divided into two parties; the one consisting of the *Neapolitans* and the *Venetians*, and the other of the *Florentines* and the *Milanese*. *Alphonso* and the *Venetians* entered into a formal league, by which

which it was agreed, that he should fall upon the *Florentines*, and they upon the *Milanese*. To give some colour of justice to this proceeding, both *Alphonso* and the *Venetians*, who had leagues still subsisting with the *Florentines*, sent ambassadors to *Florence* to declare that their league was purely defensive; and yet the *Venetians* entered complaints which they thought might justify their acting offensively. They accused the *Florentines* of having given passage to *Alexander Sforza's*, brother with his troops into *Lombardy*; and that they had been the means of *Sforza's* reconciliation with the marquis of *Mantua*.

COSMO de Medici was, by the *Florentine* senate or magistracy, appointed to answer their complaints. He did this by putting the *Venetian* ambassadors in mind of the vast acquisitions of power and territory their republic had made by the assistance of *Florence*; that the matters they complained of were mere trifles, and that, in all events, the *Venetians* might find their enmity as prejudicial to them, as their friendship had proved advantageous. With this answer the ambassadors departed; but *Sforza* and the *Florentines* knowing their own danger, entered into fresh engagements with each other, and prepared for the worst. The engagements between *Alphonso* and the *Venetians* soon began to unfold themselves, by all the subjects of *Florence* being banished, without any reason given, out of the territories of *Naples* and *Venice*. Immediately after this, the *Venetians* collected together all the exiles of *Bologna*, which still continued to be governed by *Santi Bentivoglio*, the firm friend of the *Florentines*. Their design was to introduce those exiles, and a body of troops by the common sewers, in which they succeeded so far, that they never were discovered till they were in the heart of the city. *Santi* was awakened out of his sleep with an alarm that the rebels were in possession of *Bologna*. He was advised to save himself by flight, as the city was thought to be irrecoverably lost; but he bravely faced the danger, put himself at the head of his friends and the well-affectioned citizens, defeated the conspirators, drove them out of the city, and by his valour fully proved himself to be of the *Bentivoglio* blood.

THE *Florentines* considered this attempt upon *Bologna* as being aimed against them; and prepared for war by levying new troops, and creating the council of ten field-deputies. Before they proceeded to action they sent deputies to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Sienna*, which last state of late had linked itself with the *Venetians*, to justify their conduct, and to complain of the late attempt upon *Bologna*. The pope was too deeply engaged in controversies with the council of *Basil*, to take any part in the quarrel, farther than by giving

the deputies good words. *Alphonso*, who by this time secretly thought the *Venetians* were becoming too powerful, invented excuses for having banished the *Florentines* out of his dominions, and offered passports to all those who chose to return: but, notwithstanding this fair language, the deputies could easily see, that he harboured resentment in his heart against their country. The *Venetians*, who in reality at that juncture aspired to the sovereignty of all *Lombardy*, excused themselves, on account of their engagements with *Alphonso*, from admitting the *Florentine* deputies into their territories: and they went so far in their enmity to the *Florentines*, as to solicit the emperor of *Constantinople* to prohibit their trading in his dominions; but he rejected their request. The *Siennese* gave the *Florentine* deputies a courteous reception, because their allies were not yet prepared to support them.

The king of France and the Genoese join the Florentines. THE implacable spirit the *Venetians* discovered against the latter with *Sforza*, who brought the *Genoese* into their alliance, and compromised all ancient differences between them and the *Florentines*. Soon after, the French king became a party in the same league; and his accession to it was proclaimed by the *Florentines* and their allies with great pomp, throughout all their dominions.

The emperor comes to Italy. THE *Florentines*, thus encouraged and strengthened, refused to admit the *Venetian* ambassadors into *Florence*, where they intended, in conjunction with *Alphonso's* minister, to justify the conduct of their respective masters; and *Alphonso's* ambassador refused to go by himself. In the mean time *Frederick III.* emperor of *Germany*, arrived in *Italy*. His business there was to receive the crown of *Lombardy* from the pope, and to meet *Elzanora*, the daughter of the king of *Portugal*, who had been espoused to him in marriage, and who arriving at *Pisa* was conducted to *Sienna*. As to the emperor himself, various are the reports concerning his journey. Some say he was so poorly attended, that he was attacked and robbed by the banditti, and scarcely escaped with his life; while others pretend that he travelled with great magnificence. The latter is most probable, as *Machiavel* tells us, that on the 30th of *January*, 1451, he entered *Florence*, attended by four hundred horse, and stayed till the 6th of *February*, receiving from the senate all the honours due to his high station. We know of no particular affairs he transacted in *Florence*. *Sforza's* establishment in *Milan* was but yet new, nor was he well affected to the emperor; so that the latter durst not venture to repair to

^a *Hers's Hist. of Germany.*

^b *MACHIAVEL, book vi.*

Milan.

Milan, to receive what is called the iron crown, by which the Germanic emperors were crowned kings of Lombardy. The pope however crowned him at Rome; and in the following May he and his empress returned to Florence, where he was received with the same honours as before; and during this journey, he made *Borsi d'Este*, marquis of Ferrara, duke of Modena and Reggio, as a reward for his services in persuading the people to grant him the tutelage of young *Ladislaus*, king of *Polonia*.

MOST of this year, and the beginning of 1452, was spent by the *Florentines*, as well as the *Venetians* and the other powers concerned, in forming alliances, or making preparations for the ensuing war. In the month of May the *Venetians*, and their ally the marquis of *Montferrat*, entered the *Milanese* at the same time; the former with fourteen thousand horse and six thousand foot by the way of *Lodi*, and the latter by that of *Alessandria*. *Sforza* was not wanting to himself: his army consisted of eighteen thousand horse and three thousand foot; and having thrown strong garrisons into *Alessandria* and *Lodi*, he carried the war into the enemies country by destroying *Bresciano*, and taking many inconsiderable places, tho' without forming any important siege; but the marquis of *Montferrat* was defeated near *Alessandria* by *Sforza's* troops.

A. D.
1452.
Success of
Sforza.

ABOUT the time that the war in Lombardy was renewed, the *Neapolitans* invaded *Tuscany* with twelve thousand men, commanded by *Ferdinand*, eldest son to *Alphonso*, and *Fredrick of Urbino*. *Machiavel* gives us the most contemptible idea of this expedition. The operations of the invaders began by the siege of *Foiana* (perhaps the modern *Focognano*) in the vale of *Chiana*; the only defence of which was a pitiful castle and a very weak wall, the whole garrison being no more than two hundred men. *Ferdinand*, favoured by the *Siennese*, through whose country he marched, besieged this place with all his army, thirty-six days before he could take it. The *Florentines* made use of this time to strengthen their garrisons and reinforce their army, whilst the *Neapolitans* marched farther into the vale of *Chiana*, where they were baffled in all the sieges they attempted before castles and towns, which in the days of *Machiavel* were, for their weakness, deemed to be untenable, and therefore slighted. The *Florentines* at that time had on foot an army of eight thousand men, under *Asterra of Faenza* and *Gysmond Malatesta*; but perceiving their enemies to be so awkward and unexperienced in the field, they kept upon the defensive, knowing well that their chief towns

The Neapolitans invade Tuscany, but are baffled.

were in no danger, and that their enemies must waste themselves in their idle attempts. *Ferdinand* at last laid siege to *Castelma*, which lies in the vale of *Cibiana*, within ten miles of *Sienna*; but though it was a very inconsiderable place by art and nature, he was obliged, after laying forty-six days before it, shamefully to abandon the siege. *Ferdinand*, however, all this time sent out parties, which scoured the open country within six miles of *Florence*, but were unable to take the smallest town.

WHILE the siege of *Castelma* was carrying on, the *Neapolitans* had brought up a squadron of about twenty galleys, carrying some land troops, which lay off *Pisa*, and surprized the town of *Vada* in the *Volterrana*, situated at the mouth of the river *Cecina*, from whence they annoyed the neighbouring country; but they were soon confined within their walls and ships by some troops which the *Florentines* sent against them. The inactivity of this campaign is some proof that *Alphonso* was irresolute as to the part he had to act, and that his jealousy of the *Venetians* encreased. Hitherto the *Florentines* seemed rather to sport with, than to be terrified by his arms; but in the spring of the year 1453, they thought it was high time to retake the places they had lost. Being reinforced with two hundred horse under *Alexander Sforza*, brother to the duke of *Milan*, they besieged and retook *Foiano*, and with some difficulty re-peopled it, having been abandoned by its former inhabitants. The town of *Vada* was likewise regained by the *Florentines*, after being set fire to and deserted by the *Neapolitans*, who now behaved like robbers rather than soldiers, subsisting by plunder and violence, without daring to face their enemies in the field.

Their attempt upon the vale of *Bagno* had been subjected to the *Florentines* many years, and the lord of it, *Gerardo Garribatorti*, had always served in their armies. His castle, which was called *Corzano*, and estate, lay convenient for making incursions into the *Casentin* and the valley of *Tevere*; and *Alphonso* tampered with him to give them up to him in exchange for an estate in the kingdom of *Naples*, to which *Gerardo* agreed. The *Florentines* had some intimation of the negotiation, and sent a messenger, who taxed *Gerardo* with it; but he not only solemnly disclaimed it, but, pretending that he himself was indisposed, sent his son to *Florence* as a pledge of his fidelity, of which the *Florentines* seemed now to be quite satisfied. In the mean while the bargain being finished between *Alphonso* and *Gerardo*, the former sent one *Puccio*, a knight of *Jerusalem*, with some troops,

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troops, who took possession of all the vale of *Bagno*, excepting the castle of *Corzano*, which they kept against the inclination of the inhabitants. A brave young *Pisan*, one *Antonio Gualandi*, was with *Gerardo* when *Puccio* came to take possession of the castle; and *Gerardo* going to the gate to admit him, *Antonio*, who detested his treachery, thrust him out of the gate, which he locked, and took upon himself the command of the garrison, who declared for the *Florentines*. The news of this spirited and timely action flying abroad, the people of *Bagno* had the courage to take up arms under the *Florentine* standards, and drove the *Neapolitans* out of their country; *Gerardo* himself escaped with difficulty, but left his wife, family, and effects, in the hands of the *Florentines*, who imprisoned his son the hostage, and sent troops into the country, who took possession of all *Gerardo's* estate.

THE pope was too wise a man, and too intent upon securing, or rather regaining, his own power at *Rome*, to concern himself in the wars either of *Tuscany* or *Lombardy*. His dominion, and that of his clergy, was at that time detested by the *Romans*; and a hair-brained enthusiast had almost expelled them out of *Rome*. His name was *Stephen Porcari*, a man of family and learning; but his head being turned by reading poets, especially *Petrarch*, whom he believed to be divinely inspired, and that in one of his sonnets he had pointed him out as the deliverer of *Italy*, he began to affect many particularities in his living and dress, which coming to the pope's ears, made him conclude that the man's brain was affected, and therefore he committed him to the custody of the governor of *Bologna*, not under strict confinement, but with orders that no day should pass without *Stephen* appearing before him. This restraint served but to render *Stephen* the more expeditious and assiduous in his great design. He often went and returned from *Bologna* to *Rome*, where he concerted matters with his friends with such expedition, that the governor always saw him once a day; till, thinking his design was ripe for execution, he invited all the heads of them to a supper at *Rome*, and appearing amongst them in a most sumptuous habit, he laid down the plan for executing the conspiracy next day, by seizing the papal palace, calling the people to arms, and delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of the pope and his ecclesiastics. The assembly, however, were in the mean while in the papal toils; all of them were that very night seized, and *Stephen*, and the principal conspirators, put to death.

THO' *Alphonso's* invasion of *Tuscany* had done no great damage to the *Florentines*, yet it had obliged them to keep up an army at a great expence, of which they sought to make them-
Regnier of Anjou comes to Italy.

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themselves. For this purpose they sent *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* as their ambassador to the court of *France*, to engage *Regnier*, commonly called *René of Anjou*, who, as we have seen, had a great claim upon the crown of *Naples*, to come to *Italy*, and assert the same by joining the *Florentines* and the duke of *Milan*. *Regnier* listened to the proposal; and it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should pay him thirty thousand florins ready money, and ten thousand florins a month, upon his entering *Lombardy* at the head of two thousand four hundred horse, against the *Venetians*: but when *Regnier* was ready to march, the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis of *Montferrat*, allies to the *Venetians*, gave him to understand, that if he proceeded they would oppose his passage, which *Regnier* was in no condition to force. Upon this, by *Acciaiuoli's* advice, he put part of his troops on board transports which carried them to *Lombardy*; and the king of *France* dealt so effectually with the duke of *Savoy*, that the rest went by land. *Regnier*, who now took upon himself the title of king of *Naples*, was received with great marks of respect by *Sforza*, and the *French* and *Milanese* troops joining, they recovered from the *Venetians* all that they had taken in the *Cremonese*, with a great part of the *Bresciano*, and obliged the *Venetian* army to retire under the walls of *Brescia* itself. The winter then coming on, both armies went into quarters.

and re-
turns.

BEFORE the spring the politics of the court of *France* took an unexpected turn; and when the duke of *Milan* prepared to take the field, and to finish the conquest of the *Bresciano*, *Regnier*, who had wintered at *Piacenza*, informed the duke that he was obliged to return to *France*; nor could *Sforza's* personal application and intreaties detain him. The truth is, *Regnier* had been drawn into *Italy* by the *Florentines*, without any intention to serve the duke of *Milan* (to whose dominions another prince of the blood royal of *France* laid claim) farther than as he was connected with the *Florentines*. The latter, on the other hand, never had any design of aggrandizing *Sforza* farther than was consistent with the ballance of power they wished to maintain in *Italy*, which they thought had been sufficiently established by his late successes. They were therefore under no concern at *Regnier's* departure, especially, as they had nothing now to apprehend from *Alphonso*. All that *Regnier* could be prevailed on to do, was to leave part of his troops in *Lombardy*, and to promise to send his son *John* to command in his place. This young prince accordingly came to *Lombardy*, but he resided at *Florence*, where he met with an honourable reception.

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The system of public power all over Christendom, but in Italy especially, now underwent a great alteration. The Greek empire was little honoured by its emperor and patriarch submitting to the supremacy of the western church. This submission was so hateful at Constantinople, that it was there commonly said, that they had rather see in their churches a Turk than a cardinal's hat. The emperor however, still hoping to be assisted by the western princes, conformed to the Roman ritual, and was publickly attended by Isidore a Roman cardinal. But all the assistance he received from Italy consisted of four Genoese ships, one of which was furnished by the emperor Frederick III. so that the great city of Constantinople fell into the hands of the infidels, and the emperor lost his life in defending it.

THE princes and states of Italy could not with indifference see such an accession of power to the Ottomans: Constantinople was then reckoned the first city in the world, and the infidels were strong enough at sea fully to avail themselves of all the advantages of its situation. Their fleets had already made great depredations on the subjects of the pope and Venice, and it was every day expected they would invade Italy. The pope was incessantly exhorting the Italian princes and states to reflect upon their own danger; and indeed the state of their affairs favoured his admonitions. The duke of Milan being deprived of the assistance of France, sought to apply himself to the regulation of his own dominions. The Venetians had more than any other power to fear from the Turks. The Florentines had attained all they aimed at; and though Alphonso still held out, yet it was plain that he must yield at last. At the pope's earnest request, all the powers at war sent their ministers to a congress at Rome. Great altercations happened between the duke of Milan and the Venetians: the former insisted upon their giving up to him Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, and they, that he should yield to them Cremona. Those differences which were thought insuperable at Rome, were accommodated in Lombardy. On the 9th of April, 1454, a peace was concluded between Sforza and the Venetians, by which each was to be restored to the towns and lands they had possessed before the war, and the duke was left at liberty to recover all that had been taken from him by the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Montferrat, or their allies. The pope, the Florentines, the Siennese, and other Tuscan states, immediately acceded to this treaty, which was followed by a triple alliance, to be in force twenty-five years, between the Florentines, Sforza, and the Venetians. Alphonso thought himself ill used both by his allies and his enemies; in not

A peace concluded.

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being considered as a principal in this treaty; but his objection was at last overcome by the solicitations of the pope, and those of a double marriage of his son and daughter with those of *Sforza*, so that he acceded to the peace, reserving however to himself a liberty of making war upon the *Genoese*, *Gismund*, *Maistafas*, and *Asterra* of *Faenza*. After this he recalled his troops under *Ferdinand* out of *Tuscany*.

A. D.
1455.

It soon appeared that *Alphonso* was far from being sincerely disposed to the continuance of the peace. *Jacob*, *Duke*, who was in the *Venetian* service, was now dismissed from it; and *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and *Tuscany*, were filled with officers and soldiers, who had no other business than to

Picinino
renews the
war.

themselves in the city. They chose for their leader *Jacob Picinino*, who long before this had many family-claims both in *Tuscany* and *Romagna*. Having assembled a small army, which *Alphonso* privately assisted him in doing, he marched into the *Siennese*, where he took many strong towns, and threatened *Sienna* itself. *Pope Nicholas* was now dead, and was succeeded by *Calixtus III.* a zealous active pontiff, who gave orders to his general, *Giovanni Ventimiglia*, to join his forces with those of the *Florentines*, and to march against *Picinino*. They accordingly engaged him near *Bolsena*, where *Ventimiglia* was taken prisoner; but *Picinino* was intirely defeated, and fled to *Castiglione*, where he must have been obliged to surrender himself prisoner, had he not been supported by *Alphonso*. As *Picinino* was considered by the other *Italian* states to be little better than a free-booter, *Alphonso's* abetting him was highly resented by them; and that king, to regain their favour, brought *Picinino* to restore to the *Siennese* all their towns for twenty thousand florins, and then to retire to *Naples*.

A crusade
published.

THE progress of the *Turks*, and the detestation in which they were held, bade fair, at this time, to revive the spirit of crusading in *Europe*. The pope filled all the Christian courts with his nuncios, legates, preachers, and other ministers, to awaken them to a sense of their danger; and they were no where more successful than in *Florence*. There the chief citizens liberally contributed by their purses, and in their persons, towards an expedition against the infidels; and many of them even wore the sign of the cross, which had not for many years been seen in *Europe*, as a proof that they designed to take upon themselves the crusade. Public processions were every day seen in their streets, and their pulpits resounded with the merits of the expedition, and the mighty rewards that would attend, in this and the next life, those who should enter into it. This fervour, however, soon came to cool,

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at last wholly subsided, upon some slight advantage made by the Christians over the infidels on the side of

FLORANCE was in profound tranquillity in the year 1456, when, on the 20th of August, Tuscany was visited with one of the most dreadful hurricanes mentioned in history. Castles and churches were unroofed, and the roofs carried to some distance: the most stubborn oaks were torn up by the roots and tossed about. In other places, houses and churches were levelled to the ground; men and beasts were buried under their ruins, and all the elements seemed conspiring to return to a chaos. *Machiavel*^d however observes, that this hurricane passed in a particular line of direction, and did not proceed to the great cities, where the consequences must have been much more fatal. But we shall now, after a short interval, return to the internal affairs of Florence.

THAT city and state had been for some years under an excellent direction, while *Cosmo de Medici* and *Neri di Capponi* acted with unanimity in the public councils. *Capponi*'s services to his country had gained him more friends to his virtue, than followers to his person; while the liberality, the beneficence, and affability of *Cosmo*, gave him as many followers as he had friends. The conduct of both in the state was irreproachable, their judgments equal, and each supporting the other, the government was firm and unshaken. Sometimes, it is true, they differed, as in the case of *Sforza*; but this difference arose from the natural severity of the one, and the opposite character of the other; nor did it proceed to any rancour of party. *Cosmo*, however, lived long enough to be sensible that he was mistaken in his opinion of *Sforza*, whose mind was formed more for ambition than friendship. *Cosmo* had been over lavish in assisting him; and it was owing to him that he was now duke of Milan. In their hours of intimacy together, *Cosmo* had secretly opened his heart to *Sforza*, and told him, that his great ambition was to be the means of putting *Lucca* one day in the possession of the *Florentines*; and *Sforza* solemnly promised to assist him in the attempt as soon as he became master of Milan. This promise greatly influenced *Cosmo* in supporting *Sforza*'s interest; but the matter for a time was kept private, and when *Cosmo* called for *Sforza*, when he was duke of Milan, to perform his engagements, he was answered with sorry excuses and affected delays.

^d MACHIAVEL, book vi.

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29
Cosmo
appointed by
Sforza.

CAPPONI's death occasioned a great alarm to Cosmo's interest. Divisions were made, that it was proposed to discontinue the Balìa, or the ancient powers, by which the city had been governed, and to return to the old method of impositions, and fill up the chief posts by lot. Secret ambition was at the bottom of this proposal; for many who had all along appeared attached to Cosmo, seeing him now deprived of Capponi's assistance, and that it was unlikely he should be succeeded by a son of equal authority and virtue with himself, thought that a proper time to lay the foundations of their own greatness. Cosmo perceived their drift; and though he might easily, by force, have seized upon the government, yet he chose to shew them their own insignificance, by suffering them to take place, which it did, especially as he knew the Romagnoli or none but his own friends would be returned by the impositions; so that he was safe in all events.

Parties in
Florence.

THE other party made the experiment, but they soon perceived they had mistaken their measures. Popular elections being restored, put the meanest inhabitant, in that respect, on a footing with the highest. Cosmo's pretended friends, instead of being treated as they had formerly been, with reverence and respect, met now with the most bitter insults and reproaches in all public places, though none of them were returned by the impositions as persons fit to serve the commonwealth, but those of his party. Cosmo had foreseen this, and the great men who restored the popular system, now saw plainly that, instead of diminishing his authority, they had ruined their own: so firmly was Cosmo rivetted in the affections of his fellow citizens; but he wisely dissembled all that had happened and his secret enemies had themselves only to blame.

Cosmo declines public business.

COSMO being now well assured, that no revolution of state, or form of government, could affect him, gave way to the re-establishment of the tax catalano, which subjected all imposts to the law, and not to the discretion of any man, or set of men. This political self-denial had great effects in his favour; for the law being passed, and the commissioners for executing it appointed, all the great nobility and citizens repaired in a body to Cosmo, intreating him to deliver himself, as well as them, from the tyranny of the people. Cosmo seemed very willing to agree to their request, provided the imposts could be regularly repealed, and a new Balìa take place without force, and with the consent of the people. The great men attempted this in vain, and renewed their applications to Cosmo, who gave them a flat denial; and

shewed how insignificant the aristocratical power made him who was the head of that aristocracy was upon good terms with the people.

DONATO COCCI was then gonfalonier of justice, and would have gratified the demands of the great citizens, had not the other magistrates, who were intirely in *Cosmo's* interest, treated him with such taunts and reproaches as drove him mad; and he actually was confined as a lunatic.

by the connivance of *Cosmo*, succeeded by *Luca Pitti*, who, being bold and enterprising, raised himself upon the dissensions of his country, as we shall have occasion to observe in the course of this history.

We have already seen, that *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, when *Alphonso* he succeeded to the late pacification, referred to himself a liberty of carrying on war with certain powers. He employed

Jacob Piccinino, though with little or no success against *Gismond Malatesta*; but he directed the chief force of his kingdom against the *Genese*. *Fregosa* was then doge or duke of *Genoa*, which was torn into so many factions within itself, that, despairing to make head against *Alphonso*, he offered the sovereignty of that republic to *Charles* king of *France*, who accepted the offer, and gave the government of the city to *John*, the son of *Reynier* of *Anjou*, *Alphonso's* rival in the crown of *Naples*. *John* accordingly took possession of *Genoa*, with a view of carrying his arms from thence into *Naples*. This was an event unforeseen by *Alphonso*, whose fleet then lay at *Capo Fino*, where he himself died, leaving his dominions to his son *Ferdinand*, who afterwards proved one of the greatest princes of that or any other age. He came to his crown, however, under great difficulties. He was engaged in a doubtful and an unpromising war with the *Genese*; and he knew that great numbers of his chief nobility were in the interest of *France*. The pope openly pretended, that the kingdom of *Naples* belonged to the *Roman* see, and that he intended to annex it to the church's patrimony, and to give the government of it to his nephew, *Peter Lodovic Borgia*. Surrounded with so many difficulties, *Ferdinand* had no resource so natural as in *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, who knew that the *French* laid claim to his dominions, and therefore thought it his interest above all things to exclude them from *Italy*. To him *Ferdinand* applied, and received from him all kind of encouragement. In the mean while pope *Calixtus* died, and with him fell all his family's towering projects. He was succeeded by the famous *Eneas Sylvius*, a *Siennese*, of the house of *Piccolomini*, who took the name of *Pius II.* and, by his writings, had been a great advocate for the council of *Basil* against

against the pope; though he afterwards retracted the crime. He affected to govern *Genoa*, by the different style of his predecessor, who had ventured *Genoa* under ecclesiastical censures, and had declared him and *Caia* under disclaimed all thoughts of annexing the kingdom of *Naples*, and the see of *Rome*, or of favouring the French claim upon that kingdom. He pretended to have no passion but for the good of Christendom and the church; and having bestowed the crown of *Naples* upon *Ferdinand*, the latter in return gave his natural daughter in marriage to *Antonio*, nephew, as he was called, to his holiness, created him prince of *Malphi*, and restored *Benevento* and *Terracina* to the church.

Genoa
possessed by
John of
Anjou.

THE dissensions of *Genoa* interrupted the internal tranquillity of *Italy*, where every thing again seemed disposed to a general crusade against the Infidels. *John of Anjou* was still in possession of that city; but *Peter Fregosa*, the late king who was the cause of his advancement, not thinking his services sufficiently repaid, had retired to a castle of his own, where he first broke off all communication with *John*, and men came to open war with him. *Fregosa* was supported by *Ferdinand*; and *John*, having received some reinforcements from *France*, marched to dispossess him of his castle; but *Fregosa* was so well prepared to receive him, that he failed in his attempt, and retired to *Genoa*. Soon after *Fregosa*, in the night-time, entered the extensive fortifications of that city, where he made himself master of some posts; but next day, being surrounded by *John's* troops, he, and almost all his followers, were put to the sword. *John*, elated with success, in the year 1459 equipped a considerable fleet, with which he made a descent upon the kingdom of *Naples*, where his party was very strong, and he was received as king by many princes and states.

A. D.
1459.

JOHN king of *Arragon*, brother to the late king *Alphonso*, seeing his nephew *Ferdinand's* crown in danger, sent ambassadors to *Florence*, requiring them to assist *Ferdinand*, in terms of their treaty with his father. To this request the *Florentines* answered, that they did not conceive themselves obliged to assist the son in a war which had been entailed upon him by the father, who had begun it without their consent or advice. This resolute answer threw the ambassadors into great perplexities; so that, after entering several protests and instruments, they left the city in a rage. The truth is, the *Florentines* thought it more for their interest that *Genoa* should be in the hands of the French, than in those of the Spaniards.

FERDINAND, the more effectually to oppose *John*, made peace with *Gismondo Malatesta*; upon which *Jacob Piccinino*, the sworn enemy of the *Malatesta* family, left his service and entered into that of *John Ferdinand*, however, raised a good army, and gave the command of it to *Fredrick Urbino*; but coming to a general engagement near the river *Sarno*, it was entirely defeated by *John*, and most of his best officers were taken prisoners. *Jacob Piccinino* advised *John* instantly to follow his blow, and to march against *Naples*, which still remained faithful to *Ferdinand*. But he impolitically rejected this advice, and proceeded to reduce places and towns of less importance, saying, that *Naples* must of course be to him. In the mean while, *Ferdinand* having strengthened himself in his capital, to which all the great men of his party likewise repaired, applied to the pope, and to the duke of *Milan*, for assistance in men and money, which both of them liberally gave him. He then again took the field, and was recovering some of the places he had lost, when he was favoured by a fresh revolution in *Genoa*.

THAT inconstant city took an opportunity, in *John's* absence, to throw off the French yoke, by the assistance and ingaition of the duke of *Milan*, who reconciled together the families of *Adorni* and *Fregoso*, and supplied them with troops and money. The French sent a fleet to *Genoa*, under *Regnier Anjou*, *John's* father, to make good his party; but, while his forces were landing, he was defeated, and obliged to turn to *France*. This misfortune served to render *John* the more intent on the conquest of *Naples*; but he was entirely defeated by *Ferdinand*, and obliged likewise to return to *France*.

LUCA PITTI still remained gonfalonier of *Florence*, *Disfranchised* *Cosmo*, partly out of disgust, and partly because he was now old and infirm, concerned himself very little in public affairs. *Luca*, being a bold enterprising magistrate, attempted to revive the *Balia*, or high commission, that had been abolished upon *Capponi's* death; but not succeeding, he bought troops into the city, and forced the people to agree to all he demanded. He then proceeded to humble his chief opponents, amongst whom was *Girolamo Machiavel*, whom he banished, and who, after wandering up and down *Italy*, exciting its princes and states to revenge his quarrel, was at last sent prisoner to *Florence*, where he died under confinement. *Pitti*, by this time, had succeeded to all *Cosmo's* power in the state; but he was intemperate in the use of it. He ordered the name of presidents of the trades, or artists, to be exchanged for that of presidents of liberty; and instead

sitting, as the gonfaloniers used to do, on the right hand of the magistrates, he took place in the middle of them, as being their superior. He even carried his insolence so far as to claim the sanction of heaven for what he did, and ordered public processions and thanksgivings to be made for the restoration of his country's liberty. The presents he received from the wealthy citizens, are said to have amounted in one year to twenty thousand ducats, and his magnificence was answerable. He built two sumptuous palaces; one without a mile of the city, the other within it. The latter, which, to this day, is called the palace of *Pitti*, is one of the most stupendous piles in *Europe*. It became afterwards the residence of the great dukes of *Tuscany*, and still attracts the admiration of foreigners. To carry on those fabrics, *Pitti* neglected no means that his high station put in his reach; and assassins, thieves, and robbers were pardoned, on condition of their assisting to build it. Though *Pitti's* rapaciousness was applied to noble purposes, yet it set the most detestable example to his inferiors, who plundered their inferiors as he did them. Notwithstanding this, *Florence* was now become the admiration of the world for riches and magnificence, especially in buildings, by keeping itself neutral in all the dissensions of *Italy*, particularly between the *Malatesta* family and the pope, who endeavoured to deprive them of *Rimini* and *Cesena*. Thus, for several years, the *Florentines* applied themselves entirely to the cultivation of the civil arts; and nothing else remarkable is recorded of them.

A. D. 1464. IN the year 1464 died *Cosmo de Medici*, who, though the private subject of a republic, had more riches than any king in *Europe*, and laid out more money in works of taste, magnificence, learning, and charity, than all the kings, princes, and states of that, the preceding, or the subsequent age, those of his own family excepted. The riches he was possessed of would appear incredible, did not the monuments of his magnificence still remain, and did not his contemporaries give us unquestionable testimonies both of them and his liberality. They were such, that we are tempted to believe that he and his family knew of some channels of commerce that have been lost probably by the discovery of *America*, and the frequency of the *East Indian* commerce by sea, to which the *Europeans*, in his time, were almost strangers. He lent vast sums of money to the public, the payment of which he never required; and there scarcely was a citizen in *Florence* whom he did not, at one time or other, assist with money, without the smallest expectation of its being returned. His religious foundations were prodigious. He founded the convents and churches

churches of St. Mark and St. Laurence, the rich monastery of S. *Vincenzo*, the church of *Girolamo*, the abbey belonging to it in the mountains of *Fiesole*, the church of the *Friars Minors* in *Mugello*, with the abbeys of the *Servi Agnoli* and S. *Miguelo*. Not contented with having founded so many religious edifices, he endowed them likewise with rich furniture, magnificent altars, and chapels. His private buildings were equally sumptuous. His palace in *Florence* exceeded that of any foreign prince in his time; and he had other palaces at *Coggio*, *Fiesole*, *Casaggivolo*, and *Febrio*. His munificence even reached *Jerusalem*, where he erected a noble hospital for poor distressed pilgrims.

IN these works, &c. more than royal expence, he might have been equalled by men equally rich; but his deportment and manner was unexceeded. In his private conversation he was humble, unaffected, unassuming. Every thing regarding his own person was plain, modest, and not differing from the middling rank of citizens; thereby giving a proof, at once, of his virtue and his wisdom, because nothing is more dangerous in a commonwealth, such as *Florence* was, than pomp and parade. The expences of *Cosmo* were laid out for the embellishments of his country, and begot no envy, because all his fellow-citizens partook of them. He declined ostentation, even in his family-settlements. He matched his two sons, *John* and *Peter*, into families of reputable citizens; and he married his grand-daughters in the same manner. *Cosmo*, however, with all that simplicity of life, had towering bold notions of his country's dignity and interest. His intelligence was beyond that of any prince, and there scarcely was a court in *Europe* where he did not entertain a private agent. By this means, he always had it in his power to disappoint, perplex, and confound the intrigues of his country's enemies. His long continuance in power, for thirty-one years, is a proof of his great abilities; and his so often disappointing and countermining the formidable confederacies and leagues which brought *Florence*, more than once, apparently to the brink of destruction, gives us the highest idea of his dexterity and management in the greatest undertakings. According to *Machiavel*^a, his wealth and credit were so extensive, that he forced the *Venetians*, the duke of *Milan*, and the king of *Naples*, into his own terms, merely by distressing them for money. After being recalled to his country, the short exile he suffered served to make him appear with the greater lustre, and to establish his influence in the commonwealth, which

Cosmo's
virtues.

^a MACHIAVEL, book vii.

dominions he increased, by adding to them *Borgo di Sansepolcro*, *Montidoglio*, *Casentino*, and *Valdichiana*. The former part of his life, to his fortieth year, was tumultuous, and may be said to have been unfortunate, being sometimes obliged to save his life by flying in disguise from his enemies. But the noble spirit he shewed in making all his friends partakers of his riches, and good fortune, at last fixed his felicity. His presence is said to have been venerable, though his stature was mean, and, by the pictures we have of him, his features were strong and harsh. He is not celebrated for learning, though he was the greatest patron of learned men of his age. By his own purse, he hired several learned *Greeks* to reside in *Florence*, and thereby revived the study of that tongue, and consequently of those arts that have rendered *Italy*, and that city in particular, so celebrated ever since his time. He entertained the famous *Marsilius Ficinus* about his own person, and assigned him apartments near his own palace of *Mediceo*, that he might study with the more freedom and convenience. He has been reproached, with implacability towards his enemies, and for having driven a great many of his fellow citizens into exile; but it is easy to clear him from that charge; by considering the nature of parties in *Florence*, which left *Cosmo* no choice between the destruction of his enemies or his country. He never was known to regret but two things. First, that he had not done all the good he wished to do to mankind. Secondly, that he had not sufficiently aggrandized his country. Notwithstanding his many religious endowments, *Cosmo* was no bigot; for one of his usual sayings was, That a commonwealth was not to be defended by beads in men's hands. Towards the end of his life, some family misfortunes are said to have given him uneasiness; and he was ashamed of having been duped by *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*. But all reproaches on his memory are wiped off by the unanimous consent of his fellow-citizens, who inscribed his tomb with the title of "Father of his Country."

His love of
learning,

and pa-
triotism.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the History of Peter de Medici's Administration. The Venetians invade Tuscany; a Peace; Peter succeeded by his two Sons, their joint History; Conspiracy against them; Julio de Medici murdered. History of Florence under Lorenzo de Medici, and his Son Peter, who is ruined. New Model of the Florentine Government.

LEWIS XI. of France was at this time so employed in civil wars against his own nobility, that he could give little or no assistance to the duke of Anjou, in his claim either upon Genoa, or upon Naples. He therefore endeavoured to gain the friendship both of Sforza and Ferdinand, by suffering the latter to remain unmolested in his kingdom, and by enabling the former to become master of Genoa, which was the great object of his ambition. Sforza succeeded in this attempt, and sent his son Galeazzo at the head of fifteen hundred horse to the assistance of Lewis. The alliance between Ferdinand and Sforza was productive of great revolutions in Italy. Jacob Picinino was still formidable, though he had no territory. The reputation of his family, and his own valour and courage, had attached many to his service; and neither Sforza nor Ferdinand thought themselves in safety, while he continued in a state of independence on both, and yet always ready to hire himself to the best paymaster. Ferdinand, therefore, having compromised matters with his great nobility, and ruined the duke of Anjou's party in Naples, endeavoured to make them sensible of his and their danger from Picinino, who, being without dominions, and at the head of the old Brachian army, the irreconcilable enemies of Naples, would not fail to acquire territorial possessions at their expence. Picinino, whose troops lay at Sulmona, foresaw or understood his danger; and not suspecting the secret connections that had been formed between Ferdinand and Sforza, he offered his service to the latter, and threw himself into Milan with no more than one hundred horse. Sforza received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship, and Picinino was even married to his natural daughter. Sforza, however, could not without jealousy behold a soldier of fortune so popular, and so respected all over the Milanese, as Picinino was; and, under pretence of serving him, he undertook to reconcile him

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Picininò
put to
death.

An ineffec-
tual cru-
sade.

with *Ferdinand*, who actually took *Picininò* into his pay, and gave him one hundred thousand florins in advance. But after *Picininò*, with his wife and the *Milanese* ambassador, repaired to *Florence*, he and his son were decoyed by *Ferdinand* into the castle of *Naples*, and there put to death.

FLORENCE, and all *Italy*, was at this time in peace, through the indefatigable pains of pope *Pius II.* in promoting a crusade against the infidels. *Matthew* king of *Hungary*, and *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, were by his holiness declared generals of the armaments that were to be employed in this expedition; the *Venetians* having promised the shipping that was necessary for transporting the troops to *Sclavonia*, and *Ancona* was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous, and the pope accordingly repaired to that city. The resort of people thither was prodigious; but the whole proved to be a rope of sand. No arms had been provided, no magazines had been erected; and no money raised for the troops; so that the great numbers assembled in or near *Ancona*, served only to create a famine. The king of *Hungary* and the duke of *Burgundy* neglected to appear at the rendezvous; and the *Venetians* sent only a few galleys, to make a shew of having kept their word. Those disappointments, and his own advanced age, being now sixty-four, threw the pope into a chagrin, which proved mortal in the year 1464; and he was succeeded by *Bairbo*, a *Venetian*, who took the name of *Paul II.* Soon after died *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, and he was succeeded by his son *Galeazzo*.

Peter of
Medici be-
rayed.

THOSE events produced great alterations in *Florence*. The expedition against the *Turks* was dropt at the death of pope *Pius*; and the death of *Sforza* dissolved the union, in which the dread of his power had confirmed the *Florentines*. To add to the public distractions, *Peter de Medici*, son and successor to the great *Cosmo*, was far inferior to his father in abilities, though he was a well meaning man, and might have made a great figure in another station. *Diotisalvi Neroni* had been the intimate companion and countellor of *Cosmo de Medici*, who, upon his death-bed, recommended him in the same capacity to his son *Peter*. The latter, in strict obedience to his father's will, admitted *Diotisalvi* into his most private councils, and consulted him not only upon the management of the commonwealth, but upon his family affairs, which, it seems, then stood in need of economy. As *Peter* was possessed of a great estate, he ordered his stewards, and all he had concerns with, to send in their accounts to *Diotisalvi*, on whom he relied so implicitly, that he looked very little into his own affairs. This gave the other a hint, that it might be

be easy to supplant *Peter* in his authority and power; and, after pretending to have examined the accounts laid before him, he told *Peter*, that the ready money he was in possession of was not sufficient for supporting his figure, and maintaining his credit in the state, without calling in his father's debts. *Peter* inadvertently followed this plausible advice, and *Cosmo's* debtors were accordingly required to pay what they owed to his estate. This had not been foreseen or expected; and as there scarcely was a family or man of note in *Florence* to whom *Cosmo* had not lent money, *Peter*, by his demands, acquired a vast number of enemies, who upbraided him for deviating from his father's principles, and for oppressing his fellow-citizens by his avarice.

WHEN the reader reflects, that the power of the *Medici* ^{Reflection upon his power.} in *Florence* was rather personal than constitutional, and that it rested in a great measure upon private attachments to the family, he will not be surpris'd at the effect of so general a clamour, which was increased by the then state of parties in the republic. *Luca Pitti*, whom we have already mentioned, continued still to be possessed of great power in the state; but *Diotisalvi* knew, that, now *Cosmo* was dead, his abilities would appear insufficient for supporting his ambition, which was to succeed *Cosmo* in the intire direction of affairs. *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* and *Nicolo Soderini* were two other citizens of great weight and authority, but both of them secret enemies to the house of *Medici*. *Soderini* thought their power was unconstitutional, and inconsistent with public liberty. The enmity of *Acciaiuoli* was personal, and arose from the following grounds. His son *Rasael* had married *Alessandra*, of the *Bardi* family, with a large fortune; but family-discontents arising, one of her friends, by force of arms, took her from her husband and his family, who complained of this violence; and the matter was referred to the decision of *Cosmo de Medici*. His sentence was, That the lady's fortune should be restored to her and her family, and that she should be intirely at her own disposal. *Acciaiuoli* resented this determination, and resolved to be revenged on *Peter*, though he could not upon *Cosmo*. All those citizens disguised their private sentiments under plausible pretexts. They exclaimed against the monopoly of power in one family; and that it was necessary to ^{He grows} restore the constitution to its first principles, by restoring the ^{unpopular} magistrates to their regular functions in the government. The numerous bankruptcies, which happened by *Peter's* demands, soon increased this spirit of discontent, which was crowned by a treaty of marriage entered into by *Peter* between his son *Lorenzo* and a *Roman* lady of the noble family of *Orsini*.

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ni. This match corresponded so little with his father's principles, that *Peter* was publicly reviled as being ambitious and arrogant, in not marrying his son into a *Florentine* family.

Public exhibitions.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those murmurings and discontents, the *Medici* family had still a vast sway in *Florence*; and, *Cosmo* being now dead a year, it was thought proper to exhibit some public shews, that might divert the minds of the people from state-affairs. The *Florentines* were excessively fond of such exhibitions; one of which represented the three kings of the East, following the star of our Saviour's nativity to *Bethlehem*, and was performed with such pomp and magnificence as employed all *Florence* five months in preparing it. This exhibition was succeeded by jousts and tournaments, in which the *Florentine* youth challenged those of all *Italy*; but *Lorenzo de Medici*, the eldest son of *Peter*, bore the praise of address and valour from them all.

Peter takes part with the duke of Milan.

THOSE shews being over, the public discontents revived. The authority of the *balia* was near expired; and a great party was for discontinuing it, and putting the government upon its ancient foundation. But other difficulties now occurred. *Galeazzo*, the young duke of *Milan*, demanded that the subsidy paid by the *Florentines* to his father should be continued to him. This was strongly opposed by a great party, who thought that *Galeazzo* did not deserve the same consideration his father had done; and that the payment of the subsidy ought to cease at the latter's death. *Peter de Medici* was of a very different opinion. He reproached the other party with avarice, and an ill-timed frugality; and urged, that the liberty of *Florence* must be ruined by the *Venetians*, if she should separate herself from the duke of *Milan*, whose youth and inexperience would render him an easy prey to that republic. The people, in general, did not relish *Peter's* reasoning; and his enemies now held private meetings, and subscribed to associations for his ruin. But when they came to deliberate upon particulars, *Peter's* enemies could agree in nothing. The wisest and most public-spirited part of them were for immediately putting an end to the power of the *balia*, and for restoring the old form of government. They urged, that this must ruin *Peter's* power, without doing any injury to the peace of the public; and that any violent methods would give him great advantages, by affording him a specious pretext for arming himself and his party. They who were of the opposite opinion urged the danger of delays, and the folly of suffering *Peter* to live in a city where his interest was so powerful, and where he might make a bad use of it; and that the other opinion was more plausible than practicable.

They

They added that they never could have so favourable an opportunity, as then presented itself, for *Peter's* ruin; and that they ought immediately to take the marquis of *Ferrara* into their pay, to put themselves in arms, and to call a senate which should finish the work. One *Nicolo Fidino*, who was *Conspiracy* secretary to the meetings of *Peter's* enemies, suffered himself *against* to be corrupted; and he made a full discovery to *Peter* of all *Peter dis-* his enemies, with their debates and practices against him. He *covered* was startled at seeing the power and numbers of his enemies, and had recourse to a counter-association, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed with great numbers to subscribe for him, though they had subscribed against him before.

THE time for the choice of a new magistracy being now *he retains* arrived, *Nicolo Soderini*, whom we have already mentioned, *his power,* was chosen gonfalonier, with such unanimity and applause of his fellow-citizens, that he was crowned with an olive-garland, upon his exaltation to that dignity, as a sign they depended on him for restoring peace and liberty to the state. *Nicolo* had good intentions, and was bold and spirited; but his brother *Thomas* was a wiser man, and a determined friend to the house of *Medici*. He advised *Nicolo* to persevere in his design of restoring the old constitution of government, of making new imborfations, and establishing a set of magistrates who should be at once friends to the peace and the liberties of their country. *Nicolo* attempted all this; but found it impracticable to be executed, through the opposition it met with from the violent party. The time of his magistracy therefore expired, without his doing any thing answerable to the high idea conceived of him. This inefficacy gave great advantages to *Peter*, whose party was now more united and strengthened than ever; and his enemies found it adviseable to temporize for some months. Finding, however, that they lost ground every day, they resolved to make use of force, to kill *Peter*, who then lay sick at his house at *Coreggio*, and to invite the marquis of *Ferrara* with his troops to their assistance. They then resolved to rush armed into the senate-house, and to oblige the members to come into their measures, by establishing such a magistracy as they should prescribe. *Diotisalvi* had a great hand in those resolutions; but dissembled so well, that he every day attended *Peter*, and gave him his advice, relating to public affairs, seemingly with great sincerity.

PETER had early and certain intelligence of all his *and takes* enemies designs, and resolved to be beforehand with them. *arms.* Summoning his friends, he put himself and them in arms; and declared, that he had received a letter from *Giovanni Ben-*

trivoglio of *Bologna*, informing him, that the *marquis of Ferrara* was in full march, at the head of an army, against *Florence*. He then set out for that city, and, without his enemies suspecting his design, entered it. They immediately ran to arms likewise; but were inferior, both in numbers and appearance, to *Peter's* friends. *Diotisalvi*, in consternation, ran about, sometimes persuading the senators, and sometimes *Pitti*, to oblige *Peter* to lay down his arms. *Nicolo Soderini* put himself at the head of the common people of that quarter of the town where he lived, and repaired to *Pitti*, whom he strenuously exhorted to appear on horseback against *Peter*, and to encourage the senators to oppose him. But *Pitti*, who had been before this time brought over to the party of the *Medici*, was so far from following *Soderini's* advice, that he obliged him to return to his house, declaring, that his intention was to refer all matters in dispute to the senate, and that every man should lay aside his arms. This declaration of *Pitti* was of great service to *Peter*; and many, who had been the most forward against him, now appeared on his side. The senators still continued to be shut up in the palace, without coming to any determination; but an accommodation was now set on foot, and it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to *Peter*, who remained indisposed at his house, to complain of the tumults in the city, which had been begun by his taking arms, and to know his meaning and reasons for so doing. *Peter's* answer was, that he had been constrained by the injustice of his enemies, and by their secret unwarrantable cabals against his life and dignity, to put himself in arms; that he had remained, ever since his re-entering *Florence*, upon the defensive, without stirring from his own house; that his enemies were mistaken, if they imagined he had any intention of reviving the power of the *balia*, or of depriving the magistrates of their authority; that neither he nor his father had ever had such intentions; and that it was not owing to them that the powers of the *balia* were continued. He then reproached them with ingratitude to *Cosmo*, and the family of the *Medici*; and with their not thinking themselves safe to live in the same city with him, who was the son of their greatest benefactor. He next addressed himself, in a more particular manner, to *Diotisalvi*, and others, who lay under the greatest obligations to his father and his family, in so spirited a manner, that it was with difficulty he restrained his friends from putting them to death. He concluded by declaring, that all he meant was, to live in peace and security, and that he was ready to refer all matters in dispute to the senate.

His enemies
baffled,

THE heads of the opposite party, however, were far from *and be-*trusting to *nished.* *Peter's* professions. *Nicolo Soderini*, after committing the care of his family to his brother, retired to his house in the country; and it was easy to see that the city was upon the eve of a new revolution. *Bernardo Lotti*, one of *Peter's* adversaries, was then gonfalonier; but upon the expiration of the time of his magistracy, he was succeeded, in 1464, by *Roberto Lioni*, who no sooner entered upon his office than he summoned the people, and created a new *balia* and magistracy, composed of *Peter's* friends.

UPON this, *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* fled to *Naples*; *Diotisalvi*, and *Fall of* *Nicolo Soderini*, to *Venice*; *Giorgianni Neroni*, archbishop of *Pitti*. *Florence*, took refuge in *Rome*; and thus the whole faction, that had opposed the house of *Medici*, were dissipated and attainted; for all who fled were declared rebels. Those who had the courage to stay were put under confinement, and some were even put to death, while others underwent the rack. *Luca Pitti*, relying upon the connections he had formed with *Peter de Medici*, had the courage to remain in *Florence*; but fell from the height of popularity into the most abject contempt: all his friends were either ruined themselves, or had abandoned him, and none ventured to take any public notice of him. A stop was put to the magnificent edifices he had begun, and many now demanded restitution of the presents they had made him for carrying them on.

THE exiled *Florentines*, as usual, formed cabals and con- *Intrigues of* spiracies for restoring themselves to their country. But *Ag-* *the exiles.* *nolo Acciaiuoli*, before he entered upon any practices of that kind, sent an apology for his conduct in a letter to *Peter*; putting him in mind of his fidelity and sufferings for the house of *Medici*, and for *Cosimo* in particular. He declared at the same time, that he had no motive for opposing *Peter*, but the service of his country, which he was afraid might suffer, if *Peter*, who was in a bad state of health, should die. *Peter* answered this letter in a very sarcastical manner, and put *Acciaiuoli* in mind of the great rewards he had received for his services to his father; and concluded with the following expression, "If you have been rewarded for your merits, it is but just you should be punished for your offences. You never can plead the love of your country as an excuse, as it is well known that the family of *Medici* have been as good friends as ever that of *Acciaiuoli* were to *Florence*. Live therefore where you are in disgrace, as you knew not how to live here with honour."

THIS remarkable letter breathes the spirit of those times, and shews the rancour of the two factions against one

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another. *Acciaiuoli*, finding his application dejected, went to *Rome*, where many of the other exiles resided, and did all they could to blast the credit of the house of *Medici* there; but to no purpose. *Diotisalvi* and *Niccolo Soderini*, on the other hand, applied to *Giovanni Francisco* of *Ferrara*, the son of *Palla Strozzi*, who had been banished from *Florence* in 1438, and brought him to join with them in soliciting the doge and senate of *Venice*, in assisting them to drive the *Medicean* faction out of *Florence*. They put the *Venetians* in mind, that all the losses they had sustained in *Lombardy* were owing to *Cosmo de Medici*; and they represented *Peter* and his party as a treacherous bloody set of men, who had usurped the government of their country, and had banished, or put to death, her best friends and patriots; and they concluded with imploring the compassion of a state which enjoyed its liberty, in favour of one that was enslaved. Those arguments were so well received by the *Venetians*, that they ordered their general *Bartolomeo Coglione* to invade the *Florentine* territories, and to join his troops with those of the duke of *Ferrara*, under *Ercole d'Este*.

and invade Tuscany. It appears that the *Florentines* did not expect this invasion. *Peter de Medici*, and his friends, had celebrated days of solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of the state, and the re-union of their government; but they had taken no measures for warding off the blow that now fell upon them. The combined army having entered the *Florentine* territories, committed great ravages, and the *Florentines* applied for assistance to the king of *Naples*, and the duke of *Milan*, appointing the count of *Urbino* at the same time their general. *Ferdinand* readily promised them his assistance, and sent them some troops under the command of his son *Alphonso*; but *Galeazzo* came in person to their relief. We are however to understand, that the *Florentines* were to pay for their succours, and had advanced great sums for that purpose. The rendezvous of their army was appointed to be at *Castracuzo*, a *Florentine* town between *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*; but before the armies could be assembled, the *Venetians* and their allies had retreated to *Imola*, with little or no loss. This created great discontents amongst the *Florentines*, who loudly accused their field-deputies, or council of war, with mismanagement, and blamed them with having squandered the public money to no purpose. It soon appeared that the fault lay in *Galeazzo*, a young unexperienced prince, and without any talents for war. A few inconsiderable skirmishes however ensued, and the *Florentine* council of war declared, that they could expect no success while *Galeaz-*

Discontents
at Flo-
rence.

was commanded. Upon this deputies were sent to persuade him to return to *Milan*, on pretence that if he should come to any misfortune in the field, his person was of so great consequence to the common cause, that their state must be ruined. They represented at the same time, that having but lately succeeded to his dukedom, his presence might be necessary in his own dominions. An application so seemingly respectful, prevailed on *Galeazzo* to return immediately to *Milan*.

THIS obstacle being removed, the *Florentines* and their allies took the field, and one of those ridiculous battles, which was so common in those days, was fought: for though it lasted for half a day, no person was killed on either side, and neither gained the least advantage; only a few horses being wounded, and some prisoners made.

THIS battle, however, though it may be said to have been bloodless, was decisive. Winter coming on, the *Venetian* general was obliged to retire to *Ravenna*. The *Milanese* and the *Neapolitans* returned to their several countries, and the *Florentines* to *Tuscany*. The *Florentine* exiles, animated by resentment and despair, would have kept the field; but their followers beginning to clamour for money, they were obliged to disperse. *Diotisalvi* took refuge in *Ferrara*, where he met with a kind reception from that duke. *Niccolò Acciaiuole* fled to *Ravenna*, where the *Venetians* settled a pension upon him, and he there died in old age. Unsteadiness and want of resolution occasioned his misfortunes; but he had the reputation of being brave and honest. The *Venetians* now found that the *Florentine* exiles had been too sanguine in their expectations of an insurrection in that city; and seeing that they were no longer to be depended upon, began to listen to an accommodation, which was concluded with little or no difficulty. The *Florentines* might now have lived quiet, had not the remains of faction still been alive amongst them. To complete the public misfortunes, *Peter de Medici*, though not much above fifty years of age, was so infirm and feeble, that he could not stir abroad, and was ignorant of the intrigues and heart-burnings that prevailed amongst his fellow citizens, who seemed to make use of the peace they had acquired abroad, only that they might prosecute their dissensions more furiously at home. Many of the wisest and most virtuous amongst them, had behaved with moderation during the late troubles, and all such were branded by the violent as being friends to the exiles and the outed faction. *Bardo Altoviti*, who was then the gonfalonier of justice, encreased the disorders of the public by displacing from their office many citizens, and banishing others.

Peter de Medici checks the Florentines of his party.

AT last the oppression, pride, and tyranny of those in power, came to *Peter's* ears; but being confined to his bed, he could apply no other remedy but earnest exhortations for unanimity, and remonstrances upon the danger of their enemies returning and driving them out of the city. To give some amusement at the same time to their restless spirits, the marriage of his son *Lorenzo* with *Clarice* of *Orsini*, was now celebrated with all the profusion of pomp and magnificence which *Peter's* great wealth could furnish, and the fertile genius of the *Florentines* invent. After many luxurious days, the representation of a battle on horseback, and the storming of a town, were exhibited and conducted with the utmost decorum and address. Those amusements diverted the public for some time; but the spirit of faction recurred with such violence, that *Peter*, whose infirmities every day increased, found himself under the necessity of altering the whole system of his conduct. For this purpose he called before him the chief *Florentines*: he bitterly reproached them for their ambition, their rapaciousness, their having monopolized to themselves the revenues of the public, the estates of their exiles, with all the honours, and dignities in the city; and not contented even with that, had exercised their power with injustice and cruelty over the innocent, by their violence and venality. He concluded his speech by solemnly assuring them, that unless they amended their behaviour, he should repent of his successes, and find means to make them repent the abuse of their power.

His designs,

IT appears from this speech, that the spirit and intellects of *Peter* were still vigorous, and his name was so much respected, that they to whom it was addressed returned him a respectful answer. In a few days, however, they relapsed into all their former disorders, and *Peter* privately invited *Acciaiuoli* to come to his house at *Cassagivola*, to consult with him about the reformation of the state; and according to *Machiavel**, they had resolved to recal all the exiles; and to repress the fury of the factious citizens, when *Peter de Medici* died, in the fifty-third year of his age.

death,

and reflections on his character.

WHEN a great family or man is illustrious for private virtues, their public conduct often meets with applause that it does not deserve. Nothing seems to be more certain, than that the fundamental constitution of *Florence* had been more than once subverted by the two last heads of the house of *Medici*, and that *Peter* particularly had been too inflexible and vindictive against some of the greatest and worthiest of

* MACHIAVEL, book vii.

the *Florantines*. He saw his error when it was too late to mend it; and he would gladly have reinstated in their country the very men whom he had but some years before so ignominiously spurned out of it. In other respects, *Peter* seems to have been no unworthy descendant of his race. In his person he appears to have been brave and resolute. The unpopularity into which he fell at one part of his life, proceeded from his trusting too much to his father's friends; and to this he was partly obliged, by his not being able, thro' his infirmities, to look into his own affairs in person. He certainly wished as well to his country as the violence of the factions formed against him gave him leave; and he had the art, when her original constitution was restored, still to retain his influence and authority in the state. He was buried near his father in the church of *St. Lawrence* with vast pomp.

SEVERAL other deaths of great consequence happened in Italy at the same time, particularly those of *Borso d'Este*, marquis of *Ferrara*, who was succeeded by his son *Hercules*, and of *Gismond* of *Rimini*, whose son and successor was *Robert*. The next death of consequence was that of pope *Paul II.* which happened in 1471. He was succeeded by *Sixtus IV.* one of the most enterprising pontiffs that had ever mounted the papal throne, and likewise one of the most successful, though a man of no family, and of as little virtue: he owed his advancement to hypocrisy, and the appearance of sanctity. He had two sons, *Peter* and *Girolamo*, whom he called his nephews: he made the former a cardinal, an order which now appeared in its greatest lustre: he stripped *Antonio Orde-laff* of the city of *Forli*, which his family had possessed many years, and gave it to *Girolamo*, who likewise received the city of *Imola* in dower with his wife *Catharine*, natural daughter to the duke of *Milan*. In short, the lustre and power of the popedom never had been so high as now; and it was owing to a cause that naturally ought to have contributed to diminish both, I mean the growing power of the infidels, who were now masters of *Negroponte*. The consternation this occasioned in *Europe*, but more particularly in *Italy*, united the Christian princes amongst themselves; and all turned their eyes towards the pope, for stopping the progress of the infidels, which could only be done by his bulls and exhortations. Neither *Paul II.* nor *Sixtus IV.* had any such intention; but they were of great use to princes who wanted to raise armies, and maintain them cheap, under pretence of crusades; for after that pretence was dropt, the pope generally gave those princes who favoured them most, an indulgence or power to apply in their own private purposes what

A. D.
1471.
Deaths of
other
princes.

number of troops so raised they pleased. Thus most of the Christian potentates, about this time, found their account in paying a most slavish submission to the see of *Rome*, which the popes, especially the *Italians*, well knew how to improve to the utmost.

Peter succeeded by his two sons.

PETER de Medici left two sons, *Lorenzo* and *Girulian*, both of them, particularly the eldest, of great hopes, but as yet too young for taking into their own hands the reins of government. Not only the people of *Florence* therefore, but most of the princes of *Italy*, turned their eyes upon *Thomas Soderini*, who was then the leading man in *Florence*, and as such paid him their compliments; but *Thomas* gave on that occasion a noble and disinterested proof of the attachment he had always professed to the family of *Medici*. He did not even deign to answer the letters of felicitation which the *Italian* princes sent to him; and he took all occasions to recommend the sons of *Peter de Medici* to his fellow-citizens, as the proper objects of their love and regard. At last, that he might confirm them in their interests, he summoned the heads of all the *Fllorentine* nobility to the convent of *S. Antonio*, and presented to them the two young noblemen, requesting them to maintain them in the full possession of the honour and authority of their house, as being the surest means of consulting the tranquillity and independency of *Florence*; adding, that every other power set up in the state, than that of the *Medici* family, must be tumultuous and short-lived. *Thomas* having finished his speech, *Lorenzo*, the eldest brother, addressed the assembly in so manly, yet moving a manner, as to convince them that he would one day become an honour and ornament to his country; inasmuch that all present before the assembly broke up, swore solemnly, to stand by *Lorenzo* and his brother, as if they were their own children; while the two brothers promised to obey the nobility present as their fathers; and from thenceforth those young men were looked upon as the princes, or leading persons of the city, and they were so wise as to be directed by *Thomas Soderini*.

Fidelity of Soderini to them.

Conspiracy against Prato,

WHILE every thing was thus quiet in *Florence*, a dangerous conspiracy broke out in its territory. The two heads of the family of *Nardi* had, during the late commotions, been first banished, and then declared rebels; their names were *Sikuester* and *Bernardo*. The latter being poor, head-strong, and resolute, consulted how he might raise a war in *Tuscany*, that might weaken and divide his countrymen. Having many acquaintances amongst the *Pistoians*, a people remarkably turbulent and warlike, especially in the family of *Palandri*, who had a great estate in the country of *Pistoia*, he consulted with

with

with them, how he could surprise *Prato*, another city and district belonging to the *Florentines*. He was encouraged in his design by the discontents which appeared against the *Florentine* magistrates in *Pistoia*, and likewise in *Prato*; and he opened his mind upon the subject to *Diotisalvi*, to know his opinion, whether he was to expect support from other states and princes if he should succeed in surprising *Prato*? *Diotisalvi* thought the attempt was both hazardous and improbable; but glad of every opportunity to be revenged upon his countrymen, he dissembled his sentiments, and undertook to engage both the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese* to send assistance to *Bernardo*, if he could surprise *Prato*, and maintain possession of it fifteen days. Upon this assurance, *Bernardo* secretly renewed his application to the *Palandri* family, who promised to back him; and repairing privately to *Prato*, he formed a small party of the discontented, who engaged to favour his admission into the town. As the force with which *Bernardo* proposed to execute this enterprize was very disproportioned to its importance and danger, he proceeded by stratagem: he knew that in time of peace the governors of the towns in *Tuscany* are not very scrupulous of admitting the inhabitants by night; and it was agreed between him and his party in *Prato*, that they should be in arms by a certain hour, to favour his entrance, when he should present himself before the town, and *Diotisalvi* was punctually informed of all that passed.

ALL the force that *Bernardo* could collect, consisted of ^{which is} about one hundred horse, and being exact to his time, one of ^{defeated,} his party within the place applied to *Cesar Petrucci*, the *Flo-* and the *rentine* governor, for the keys of the gates to admit a citizen, ^{conspirators pun-} and *Petrucci* readily sent them by one of his own servants, whom the conspirators secured before he reached the gate, and forcing the keys from him, they admitted *Bernardo* and his attendants into the town, where he was joined by the other conspirators. They then divided themselves into two parties; one of them headed by *Silvester*, a *Pratense*, who surprised the citadel, and the other by *Bernardo*, who took possession of the palace, and made *Petrucci* and his family prisoners. After this they ran through the town and proclaimed liberty; but no sooner did day break, than the inhabitants, rather amazed at than favouring the revolution, assembled in the market-place without joining *Bernardo*. The administration of the civil government of *Prato* was held under the *Florentines* by eight of the citizens, who immediately met in their palace to deliberate how to behave. By this time *Bernardo* and his party, after travelling the town, found

found that they had been joined by few or none of the inhabitants; and therefore, as his last tentative, he demanded to be admitted to a conference with the eight magistrates. This being granted, he declared, that he wanted to rescue them from slavery, and to restore them to their ancient liberties: he expatiated upon the glory that would attend their joining him: he laid before them the certainty of being succoured, if they would hold out the place but for a few days; and he assured them, that they would be supported by a strong party in *Florence*, who were ready to declare for them as soon as they heard that the townsmen joined him.

THE magistrates answered with great steadiness, that the *Florentine* government had always been such, as to give them no reason for revolting from it; they therefore thought that his best course would be to abandon his desperate enterprize, to release the podesta and his family, and to leave the town. *Bernardo* was so far from following this advice, that he gave immediate orders for bringing forth the podesta, and hanging him before the windows of the palace. This inhuman command was on the point of being executed. The podesta appeared at the window with the halter about his neck, but before he was turned off, addressing himself to *Bernardo*, he put him in mind of his folly in ordering him to be hanged, by assuring him, that his murder would render the *Pratense* his irreconcilable enemies; and that if he granted him his life, he had a chance of accomplishing his design, because he (the podesta) would be then able to do him service.

THIS artful speech saved the podesta's life. *Bernardo* thought he could not do better than to take his advice; and after obliging him to harangue the people in favour of the conspiracy, he re-committed him to prison. By this time the inhabitants, having recovered from their consternation, and seeing what a despicable handful followed *Bernardo*, they began to look upon the conspiracy rather as ridiculous than dangerous; and the *Florentines*, who then lived at *Prato*, with the best affected citizens, putting themselves under the command of *Georgio Ginori*, a knight of *Rhodes*, attacked *Bernardo* as he was haranguing the people in the market-place, wounded and took him prisoner, released the podesta, and either killed or took prisoners the rest of the conspirators. *Florence* was filled with most dismal relations of this conspiracy, which represented the place to be taken, the podesta and his family to be put to death, the *Pistuians* all in arms, and many of the *Florentines* themselves to favour the revolt. The magistrates immediately ordered as many troops as the shortness of the time would permit to be got together, and gave

gave the command of them to *Robert di St. Severino*, who was reckoned to be a good officer, with orders to march directly towards *Prato*; but he soon had reason to return, by the news which met him from *Petrucchi* on the road. When Death of *St. Severino* was brought to *Florence*, being questioned by the chief magistrates about the madness of his attempt, he excused it by saying, that he chose to die in *Florence* rather than live in exile, and that his latter end should be signalized by some memorable event.

It is observed by *Machiavel*, that the tranquility restored Change in to *Florence* by the prudence and moderation of her government, and the defeat of the above ill-judged conspiracy, introduced an alteration of manners amongst the citizens. Their dress, their entertainments of all kinds, and their diversions, especially amongst the younger sort, were now extravagant. Their estates were lost by gaming, or spent upon women. New modes of speech and talking were invented, and a sarcastical turn of wit was introduced into conversation. The taste is, the cultivation of the polite arts, which flourished now more in *Florence* than in any part of the world, was, perhaps, of no service to the morals of its inhabitants, whose estates could afford them the refinements and luxuries of life, especially at a time of profound tranquility and great opulence. But those abuses and innovations were greatly heightened by the arrival of the duke and duchess of *Milan* at *Florence*, under pretence of performing a vow of devotion. They were attended by their whole court, which was very splendid; and their reception was equally so, the *Florentines* thinking they could not sufficiently express their gratitude for so good an ally, and their regard for so great a prince. The *Milanese* courtiers, however, though *Italians*, were of a very different cast from those of the rest of *Europe*, for, tho' it was *Lent* time, and tho' they were in the very neighbourhood of the holy see, they would taste nothing but flesh and animal food of all kinds. Public exhibitions were now renewed, for the entertainment of the illustrious guests; and the church of *St. Spirito* was burnt down, in representing in it the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples; so that when the court of *Milan* left *Florence*, those extravagancies had proceeded to such a height, that a sumptuary law was passed, by the interest of the more wise and considerate citizens, for restraining such expences in time to come; and this law extended not only to apparel and entertainments, but to funeral expences.

• Ibid. book vii.

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War with Volterra. As *Lorenzo de Medici* advanced in years, he found himself more and more uneasy under the tutelage of *Soderini*, and began to listen to those who advised him to throw it off. A difference that happened at this time between the *Florentines* and the *Volterrans*, served to widen the breach. A mine of allum was discovered by certain private citizens of *Volterra*, who applied to those of *Florence* for their assistance and protection in working the mine. The community of *Volterra* at first disregarded this undertaking; but, perceiving what profits arose from it, they claimed the mine as lying in grounds belonging to the public, and sent a deputation to *Florence*, who made that demand. The matter was referred to a committee of citizens, who reported it as their opinion, that the claim of the *Volterrans* was unjust, and that as private persons had been at the trouble and expence of working the mine, it was their property, they paying only some acknowledgment to the community, because it lay in their grounds. This report threw the city of *Volterra* into a flame, the people insisting upon the mine being delivered up to them, and the proprietors urging the expences they had been at in working it, and the judgment of the *Florentines* in their favour. Those disputes produced tumults, in which a citizen of rank, one *Pecorino*, was killed, the houses of many of his party were sacked or burnt, and the lives of the *Florentine* magistrates, who resided there, were endangered. Those disorders produced another deputation from *Volterra* to *Florence*; and the deputies, by orders of their principals, declared, that the maintaining their citizens in their rights, was the price of their subjection to *Florence*.

THOMAS SODERINI and *Lorenzo de Medici* differed upon this occasion. The former was of opinion, that the *Volterrans* ought to be gratified, and that the flames of war, raised so near themselves, might reach *Florence*. He urged the restless ambition of the pope; his connections with the king of *Naples*, who was a powerful prince; and the uncertainty of *Florence* being supported by the *Venetians*, or the duke of *Milan*, as neither the good faith of the former, nor the courage of the latter, was to be depended on; and concluded with observing, that a lean peace was preferable to a fat victory. *Lorenzo de Medici*, on the other hand, urged, that if the insolence of the *Volterrans* went unpunished, all other states and places in subjection or dependence to *Florence*, would follow their example; and that they never would be without pretences for so doing. *Lorenzo's* opinion prevailed; and the *Florentine* senate sent back the *Volterrann* deputies with this answer, that they must either submit to the terms pre-

scribed

scribed them, or prepare for a war. The *Volterrans* chose the latter, and applied for assistance to the princes and states of *Italy*, who, all but the *Siennese* and the lord of *Piombino*, were deaf to their representations. All, therefore, the *Volterrans* could do, was to fortify their city, and to hire one thousand mercenaries for defending it.

In the mean while the *Florentines*, sensible how dangerous delays are in such cases, raised an army of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, and gave the command of it to their general *Frederick*, lord of *Urbino*, who immediately reduced all the open country of *Volterra*, and laid siege to the city itself, which he battered with great violence on its most accessible side. Upon this the *Volterrann* mercenaries, in a manner, deserted the defence of the city; but were very forward in insulting the citizens, who made the best resistance they could; but were obliged to submit to the mercy of the *Florentines*. No capitulation having been made, the magistracy of *Volterra* was dissolved, and the city given up for a whole day to the plunder of the *Florentines*, who were joined by the soldiers who had been hired to defend it. The news of this success was received with great joy at *Florence*, and *Soderini* was insulted upon it by the friends of *Lorenzo de Medici*. The event, however, did not alter that wise man's opinion. He declared, that he looked upon the conquest of *Volterra* to be a loss rather than an acquisition to *Florence*, which might have been benefited by it, had it been taken by capitulation; but that, as it was taken by sack, it would, in time of war, be a thorn in the sides of the *Florentines*, and in time of peace a useless burden upon them.

THE ambition of pope *Sixtus* every day disclosed itself more and more. His professed design was to re-annex to the church all the territories and places that ever had belonged to her; and with that view he had stormed *Spoletto*, and laid siege to *Citta di Castello*, then in possession of *Nicolo Vitelli*. This nobleman was the intimate friend of *Lorenzo de Medici*, who, upon his application to him, sent him some assistance; a proceeding which laid the foundation of many enmities to the house of *Medici*. The pope took the place, and sent his son *Peter*, whom he had created cardinal of *Sisto*, to endeavour to form a league amongst the Italian princes against *Florence*. This cardinal, under all the disadvantages of birth and education, which was in a convent, had great abilities both for peace and war, and an equal share of ambition; so that his father employed him as his chief confident and first minister. Under pretence of doing honour to the nuptials of the marquis of *Ferrara*, he

Parties
and in-
trigues in
Italy.

made a kind of a tour through *Lombardy*, and other parts of *Italy*, and particularly to *Venice*, which he wanted to engage in the league against the *Florentines*. But, by this time, both the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan* were alarmed at the ambition, and the great progress of the pope. He served by such a counsellor and minister; and the former, it is said, secretly gave him poison, which, upon his return to *Rome*, put an end to his life. After this the *Florentines* joined in an alliance with the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*; but time was left for the pope and the king of *Naples* to accede to it. Another league was formed between the above three contracting powers, into which they invited the lesser states to enter, for maintaining the balance of power in *Italy*, which was endangered by a new dispute between the king of *Naples* and the *Venetians*. The former laid claim to the island of *Cyprus*, which the latter was in possession of; and the pope taking the king's part, all *Italy* was engaged in the quarrel. *Frederick of Urbino* still continued to head the *Florentine* army; and his reputation as a general was so high, that the pope and *Ferdinand* offered him very high terms to enter into their service. *Urbino* made some difficulty of this; but the pope prevailed upon him to undertake a journey to *Naples*, which the *Florentines* as strenuously endeavoured to dissuade him from, by putting him in mind of the fate of *Jacob Piccinino*. *Frederick*, however, went to *Naples*, where he was received with a profusion of honours, and accepted of the proposed service, and thus became general of the league against the *Florentines*.

New al-
liances.

NOTWITHSTANDING those dispositions, and the dread or ambition of all the parties concerned in them, no war broke out in *Italy* for two years; but every thing was managed in the way of intrigue or negotiation. The *Florentines* took into their pay, as their general, *Robert of Rinini*, renewed their league with the *Perugians*, and entered into new connections with the government of *Faenza*. The pope and the king, on the other hand, strove all they could to detach the *Venetians* from the *Florentines*, as being the only means of maintaining the pope's late acquisitions to the church, and of preserving his son *Girolamo* in the possession of his estates in the *Romagna*.

CHARLES, the youngest son of the famous *Erachio*, was still alive, and had, for some years, served in the *Venetian* armies. The time of his engagements being expired, he refused to renew them, and informed the *Venetians* that he designed to attempt to recover his right to *Perugia*, which was his inheritance from his father. The *Venetians* con-
sented

sented to this, notwithstanding the league between the *Perugians* and the *Florentines*. The latter so strenuously supported the former, that *Charles*, despairing of making any progress against them, turned his army against the *Siennese*. His pretext was that they were debtors to his father, for services done their state; and he attacked them so furiously, as to put their government in great danger. The *Siennese*, upon this, from their natural inclination always to believe the worst of the *Florentines*, complained of them to the pope and the king of *Naples*, alledging, that all the misfortunes of *Sienna* were owing to the *Florentines* having persuaded *Charles* to attack them, instead of the *Perugians*. They sent deputies to *Florence* with the like complaints. The *Florentines* not only firmly denied the charge; but, to prove their innocence, ordered an embassy to be sent to *Charles*, requiring him to abandon his expedition against the *Siennese*, under pain of their displeasure. It is probable, that this embassy was more the effect of the fear of a confederacy against them, than of any regard they had for the *Siennese*: for though *Charles* was obliged to submit, yet he reproached the *Florentines* as cowards, and enemies to themselves; because, as he gave out, he intended to have delivered up the city of *Sienna*, which he was upon the point of taking, to the *Florentines*; a present we cannot well imagine he would have made them, but upon some previous contract. The *Siennese* were so much of that opinion, that they did not even thank the *Florentines* for their deliverance, though apparently it was owing to them. But an amazing revolution now happened in *Milan*, in the following manner.

GALEAZZO duke of *Milan* was, according to some *Character* writers, the picture of some of the tyrants of antiquity. His love of money was the source of his misfortunes, as it led him to violate the honour of his greatest subjects, in the most tender point. He generally ruined those whom he injured; some of them he put to death, and others he deprived of their rights and possessions, that none of them might retain in their hands the means of resentment. At home he was despotic; abroad he was powerful in his relations and alliances; and the instruments of his tyranny being likewise the companions of his pleasures, no time was left him for reflection. His cruelty proceeded so far as to torture those whom he put to death; and it was even said, that he dispatched out of the world his own mother, because he thought her an obstacle to the perpetration of his crimes. Notwithstanding all this complicated guilt, *Galeazzo*, perhaps, might have reigned and died in peace, had he not openly gloried in his vices;

and published to all the world the names of those whose beds he had dishonoured.

And murder
of the duke
of Milan

A SCHOOL-MASTER, a profession at that time exercised in Italy sometimes by the greatest ministers of state, and held in the highest esteem, became an instrument in delivering the world from this monster. His name was *Colli*, a native of *Mantua*, to whose lessons the noblest youths in *Milan* repaired. He was a man of learning; but had applied himself so much to reading, studying, and teaching the *Greek and Roman* classics, that he became an enthusiast in favour of republican government. The general topics on which he declaimed, was the unhappiness of being governed by a single man, whose subjects were his slaves and beasts of burden, and the glory of being born in a republic, where alone true merit and virtue met with protection, rewards, and honours; and he endeavoured to prove from history, that the greatest men of all ages were republicans. He had three noble pupils, *Giovanni* & *Andrea Lampugnano*, *Carlo Visconti*, and *Giovanni Olgiato*, whose brains were touched by his repeated declamations; and to them he opened himself without reserve, by acknowledging that he meant all he said should be applied to their sovereign the duke of *Milan*; and that the most glorious action human nature could perform, was to remove a tyrant out of the world. The noblemen were too young as yet to execute his doctrine, by assassinating their sovereign; but he obtained from them a promise that they would do it, and thereby deliver their country as soon as their strength and age would permit them. This resolution, instead of being weakened, was every day strengthened in them, by the growing vices and tyranny of the duke, and by the private injuries he inflicted upon their persons, particularly by his amours in the families of *Visconti* and *Olgiato*, and by keeping *Andrea* from the possession of the abbey of *Miramondo*, which had been given him by the pope, on the resignation of a kinsman. The design being thus fixed, the chief care of the conspirators was to make sure of their blow, rather than to guard against the consequences; but they were far from neglecting even those; for they vainly imagined that the moment the tyrant was dispatched, their countrymen would unanimously embrace their liberty. The frequent meetings they held, created no suspicions at the duke's court, where their ancient friendship and intimacy was well known. In those meetings they generally practised upon one another, with their daggers in their sheaths, the methods of giving the most mortal blows, and of stabbing the most vulnerable parts of the body. Being complete in this exercise, their next deliberation was

to fix on the spot of assassination, which they resolved should be when the duke went to St. Stephen's church in procession upon that saint's day. It does not appear that they opened their real design to any of their friends; but, as arms at this time were almost the only laws known to the Italian states, they found pretexts for persuading many of their companions to arm themselves, and their servants, and to attend them to St. Stephen's church on that day, where they proposed to pay their respects to the duke before they set out upon an expedition, which they pretended was to assist a friend, who had some differences with his neighbours in the country. They used other stratagems and pretexts for assembling, at the same place and time, all who they thought would join them when the blow was struck. Some prudential considerations likewise mingled in their plan. The Milanese at that time were afflicted with famine, and the conspirators proposed to give up the palaces of the most obnoxious of the duke's favourites, to be plundered by the people.

EARLY in the morning of St. Stephen's day, the three conspirators met in the church; and one of them, *Giovanni Andrea*, most devoutly prayed, after he had heard mass, before an image of St. *Ambrose*, the tutelar saint of Milan. They then took the stands they had pitched upon; and when the duke entered the church, *Lampognano* and *Olgiato* wounded him with their daggers, which were so short that they were concealed in their sleeves, in the throat, breast, and belly, as *Visconti* did in the back; so that he instantly expired with the words, "Oh Lady save me!" The bye-standers, far from rejoicing at the tyrant's death, revenged it by killing *Lampognano* and *Visconti*. *Olgiato* escaped, and for some time lurked about disguised like a friar; but being discovered, he suffered death, under exquisite tortures, though he was no more than twenty-three years of age, with incredible resolution, comforting himself by repeating, from the Latin classics, verses, and sentiments suiting to his attempt and fate. The assassination, however, was far from producing the effects the conspirators expected. Their cause was not backed by a single man, and the public seemed to have no sentiments but those of detestation for the murderers.

THE house of *Medici* was now, viz. in 1477, possessed of more power in Florence than it had ever been. Its branches and private alliances were numerous and well cemented, and *Lorenzo* seemed to possess the popular virtues of his ancestors. All the opposition which his father had met with contributed to *Lorenzo's* greatness; for they who secretly hated and envied him durst not oppose, because they well

A. D.

1477.

State of

the house of

Medici.

knew

knew that in republics, especially in that of *Florence*, there is no forgiveness amongst factions; and they had seen many instances of it in the differences between the *Medici* and their antagonists. This flourishing state of the house of *Medici* increased the aversion of the pope to it, and made him resolve, if possible, to ruin it. The archbishop of *Pisa*, who was of the *Medici* family, happening about this time to die, the pope nominated *Giacomo Salviati*, a professed and determined enemy of the house of *Medici*, to be his successor. The *Florentines* remonstrated strongly against this nomination; but finding all their efforts vain, they refused to suffer *Salviati* to take possession of his new dignity.

Conspiracy against it.

THE pope ascribing this obstinacy to the influence of the house of *Medici*, set up against it that of *Pazzi*, the second then in *Florence* for riches and authority. The head of this family was *Jacob Pazzi*, who had received signal honours from the people; and though he had no children of his own but a natural daughter, he had seven nephews, *William, Francis, Renate, John, Andrew, Nicholas, and Galeazzo*. *Cosmo de Medici* had, from a sagacious foresight of the rivalry between the two houses, given his niece *Bianca* to *William Pazzi*, thereby hoping to cement the interest of the two families. But in proportion as that of *Pazzi* advanced in riches and popularity, *Lorenzo de Medici* grew the more jealous of their obtaining any share in the government; so that *Jacob Pazzi* and his nephews, notwithstanding their riches, remained no more than private, though illustrious, citizens of *Florence*. Their rank, however, gave them a right to be present at popular assemblies; but the magistrates who presided there, paid little or no regard to their opinions. They even went so far as to summon *Francis Pazzi*, who happened to reside some time at *Rome*, to repair to *Naples*; a proceeding which plainly shewed they either were jealous of his business at *Rome*, or that they wanted to affront the *Pazzi* family. *John Pazzi*, another of the nephews, having married the daughter and heiress of *Giovanni Borromeo*, a dispute at law happened between the daughter's husband and *Borromeo's* nephew, about the succession to the estate of *Borromeo*, who was now dead; and the cause was given in favour of the nephew by the judges, not quite agreeably to the principles of justice. The *Pazzi* had long been secretly exasperated against the *Medici*; but as there was no disguising that this iniquitous sentence was procured by their influence, the *Pazzi* lost all patience, and every where accused and reproached the *Medici* for their injustice and partiality against their family. This was looked upon by *Lorenzo* as an open attack upon his authority,

thority, and was far from producing any steps towards an accommodation. *Giulian de Medici*, who had less ambition, and more sentiments of justice, than his brother, often regretted the breach between the two families, and advised *Lorenzo* to moderate measures: but the latter, who, with all his judgment, was young and fiery, continued still to carry it with a high hand towards the *Pazzi*.

FRANCIS PAZZI, the most considerable of all the ^{by the pope} nephews for spirit, abilities, and wealth, was then a mer- ^{and the} chant, or rather a banker at *Rome*, where the vast estate he *Pazzi* acquired, introduced him to the company and intimacy of the principal personages in that city; and he lived in the strictest friendship with *Girolamo*, the pope's son or nephew. This gave him an opportunity of consulting about the ruin of the *Medici* family, which was equally obnoxious to *Girolamo* as to *Pazzi*, because the former, while their power subsisted, did not think himself secure in the possession of his estates. Nothing, however, but the deaths of *Lorenzo* and his brother could answer their purposes; and it was necessary to bring the pope and the king of *Naples* into their party. To succeed in this, they applied to *Salviati*, the archbishop of *Pisa*, who readily promised them his assistance. It was then determined, that *Francis* should repair to *Florence*, to bring *Jacob Pazzi* into their design, while the other two should remain at *Rome* to keep the pope steady in their party. *Francis* could make little interest with his uncle; and *Montesecco*, the pope's general, was applied to second him. *Montesecco* disliked the office; but, overpersuaded by the archbishop, he at last undertook it, and, under pretence of recovering to *Girolamo* certain towns near *Faenza*, he took *Florence* in his way. By this time the pope had fully approved of the horrid design of the assassination, and had ordered his general to further it to the best of his power. *Montesecco* behaved with great address; pretending business with *Lorenzo de Medici*, he was surprised at his affability and politeness; but, devoted to the pope his master, he at last, in conjunction with *Francis Pazzi*, prevailed on *Jacob* to consent to the conspiracy, provided it was backed by the pope's army. Nothing was now wanting but the consent of the king of *Naples*, which was soon obtained. The whole plot was carried on with such profound dissimulation, that the *Florentines* admitted the archbishop into their city; and thro' his interest, which was very powerful, the conspiracy was greatly strengthened by the accession of several young noblemen of great families and interest. The better to cover their designs, cardinal *Riario*, nephew to count *Girolamo*, came to *Florence*, where he hired a magnificent palace,

Giulian
Medici
murdered.

Lorenzo
escapes.

in which the chief conspirators were concealed and held their consultations. Many of their deliberations proved abortive, from various causes; but at last they resolved, that the two brothers *de Medici* should be assassinated in the church of *St. Raporata*. *Giovanni Battista*, who was appointed to murder *Lorenzo*, refused the horrid office, which was therefore committed to *Antonio of Volterra*, and one *Stephen*, a school-master, but at the same time a priest; while *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernardo Bandini* undertook to murder *Giulian*, at the same time that the archbishop *Salviati*, and *Poggio*, another of the conspirators, were to seize the palace and force the senators to come into their measures. The hour for the assassination being arrived, *Giulian de Medici*, not coming as was expected to the church, *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernardo*, who were destined to murder him, went to hasten him, which they endeavoured to do, by the most tender expressions of friendship, even to the embracing him, that they might discover whether he had about him any private armour, and with such an openness of behaviour, that *Giulian* lost all mistrust, and entered the church along with them, *Lorenzo* being already in the church. The first wound given to *Giulian* was by *Bernardo*, with a short dagger, in the breast, which proved mortal; but, tho' he almost immediately fell to the ground, *Francis Pazzi* threw himself upon the body, and gave it several stabs with such fury, that he even desperately wounded his own leg. The other two assassins, who were destined to the murder of *Lorenzo*, attacked him; but he bravely stood upon his defence, and obliged the assassins to fly: they were however afterwards found, and put to a shameful death. In the mean while *Lorenzo*, and the friends whom he happened to have about his person, had barricadoed themselves in the vestry of the church; and *Bernardo Bandini*, after killing *Francis Neri*, because he was a friend to the *Medici* family, ran about in search of *Lorenzo* to dispatch him; but in this he failed. The cardinal took refuge at the altar, where he was saved with the utmost difficulty from the rage of the people, by a guard which the senate sent him, and which escorted him to his palace. As to the archbishop, he went with some fugitive *Perugians* to the public palace; and leaving a party to secure the gates, he went up into the apartments of the gonfalonier, who was *Cesar Petrucci*; but the archbishop's confusion was so great, that his design was soon known; and the senate being alarmed, he and *Poggio*, with two kinsmen who attended him, were seized, and the rest of his party, who had by this time entered the palace, were either killed or thrown alive from the palace-windows, out of which

which the archbishop, the two *Salviati*, and *Jacob Poggio*, Punish- were immediately hanged. The conspirators, however, who went and had been left below, had forced the guards and the gates of death of the palace; but could proceed no farther, the senators and the conspi- their attendants making good the upper rooms. *Francis* rators; *Pazzi's* wound was so severe, that he could not, as he pro- posed, get on horseback to proclaim liberty to the people; but he prevailed on *Jacob Pazzi* to undertake that office. *Jacob*, at the head of about one hundred horse, accordingly sallied into the Great Square; but his success was very in- different. The people, who had not been sensible of the loss of their liberty under the *Medici*, refused to join him: the senators pelted him with stones from the palace; and he himself, now old, infirm, and naturally unambitious, was per- suaded by his brother-in-law to retire, which he did, at the head of his troop, towards the *Romagna*.

LORENZO DE MEDICI was now greater than ever; and of the his enemies were subdued or dissipated, and his name was joy- *Pazzi* fully proclaimed through every quarter of the city, by the *family* people who dragged *Francis Pazzi* out of his house, and hanged him up in company with the archbishop and his other confederates; a fate to which he submitted with invincible fortitude. *Lorenzo's* house was now the rendezvous of all the citizens, who offered to serve him with their lives and fortunes. As to the rest of the family of *Pazzi*, *Jacob* was taken in his flight; as likewise was *Rebate*; and both of them, though the latter was innocent, were brought to *Florence*, where they were ignominiously executed. *William Pazzi* was confined, as were the rest of his kinsmen who remained alive; and the other chiefs, who had been seized, were put to death. After this, the funerals of *Giulian de Medici*, who left a post- humous son of his own name, were magnificently celebrated. All this time a body of troops, under *Lorenzo de Castello*, in the vale of *Tevere*, and another under *Giovanni Francisco To- lentino*, in the *Romagna*, both of them in the pay of the pope and the king of *Naples*, were advancing in full march to- wards *Florence*, to support the conspirators; but hearing of their defeat, they returned.

THE miscarriage of this detestable conspiracy served only Tuscany to increase the rancour of the pope against the *Florentines*; invaded by and both he and the king of *Naples* ordered their generals to the pope. march their armies into *Tuscany*, but publicly to declare, that they had no other enemy for their object than *Lorenzo de Me- dici*. Upon this, *Lorenzo* summoned a meeting of the nobi- lity and chief citizens, to^o the number of three hundred, where he pronounced a speech in vindication of his own and his

his family's conduct, that, if it has not been embellished by *Machiavel*^a, shews him to have been one of the greatest orators that ever lived. Speaking of the late attempt against himself, "Where parricides, says he, and assassins are secure, the *Medici* meet their murderers." He then modestly recounts the virtues of his predecessors, and exposes the designs of his enemies, who had stirred up the pope and the king of *Naples* against their country; and concludes in the following noble manner: "This war, they say, is made against me and my family; I wish to God it were true: then the remedy were both ready and certain; for I will never be so bad a citizen as to value more my own safety than your danger: much rather should I quench your flames with my own ruin; but because injuries done by the mighty are always covered with some more seemly pretence, they have chosen this veil to cast over their present injustice: but if you think otherwise, I am in your hands; you may support, or you may suspect me, you, my fathers, you, my defenders; for whatever you shall command, I shall readily obey: nor will I refuse, if you shall think fit, to end this war with my own, which was begun with my brother's, blood."

Answer d. THE citizens answered him with tears of affection; and one, who was their spokesman, by their order, assured him, That, with the same readiness and affection with which they had revenged his brother and defended him, they would still preserve his life and reputation; nor should he lose either till they had lost their country. A guard to be maintained by the public was then voted, and raised, for his person; and levies of men and money were every where made through their state, to defend them from the impending storm.

Firmness of the Florentines against the pope. IT cannot be denied, that the conduct of the *Florentines* on this occasion was great and manly, and such as scarcely can be paralleled in a *Roman* catholic state. The pope had excommunicated them; but they were so far from regarding his censures, that they forced their priests to perform divine services. They summoned before them all the prelates under their dominion, enjoining them to pay no regard to the pope, from whom they appealed to the next general council; and they published a manifesto against him, in which they reproached him as being the very worst of tyrants and parricides, for having given sanction to murderers in a church, and during the very celebration of the holy sacrament. In short, none of the *German* reformers afterwards behaved with more spirit against the see of *Rome*, than the *Florentines* did on this

occasion. The pope, on the other hand, had nothing to oppose against those dreadful allegations, but the stale arguments of the independency of the ecclesiastic upon the civil power, and the illegality of the latter imprisoning cardinals, hanging archbishops, and quartering priests. But, notwithstanding all the just causes of provocation which the *Florentines* had received from the pope, they delivered up to him the cardinal, because it appeared he had been employed only as a blind, and had not been active in the conspiracy; for, if he had, it is more than probable he would have undergone the fate of the archbishop.

THE combined army of the pope and the king of *Naples* ^{The war} had advanced by the way of *Sienna* to *Chianti*; the army of ^{profecuted.} the church being commanded by *Frederick* count of *Urbino*, and that of *Naples* by *Alphonso*, the eldest son of *Ferdinand* duke of *Calabria*. Their first enterprize was against *Castiglione*, belonging to the *Florentines*, which they took, after a siege of forty days. The truth is, the *Florentines* had little, at this time, to depend upon but their own courage and spirit. The *Milanese* government was then unsettled, and in the hands of the young duke's mother, who was at variance with all her husband's relations; but, in virtue of the late confederacy, she sent the *Florentines* some assistance; which the republic of *Venice*, the other party, declined to do, on pretence that the quarrel was of a private nature. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the *Florentine* army, under *Hercules* marquis of *Ferrara*, took the field, and would have destroyed their enemies, who besieged and took *Monte S. Savino* in the *Arezzan*, had it not been for the incapacity or treachery of their general, who granted them a truce for some days. After this, both armies retired to winter-quarters.

THE pope and the king of *Naples*, perceiving the *Florentines* ^{Revolution} supported by the dutchess of *Milan*, employed the rebel princes ^{in the Mi-} of the *Sforza* family, and the *Adorni*, to shake off the *Mi-* ^{lanese.} *linese* yoke; whilst *Fregoso*, by favour of the dutchess, who was unable to recover the city for her son, got possession of it, and drove from thence the *Sforzi* and *S. Severino*, a *Neapolitan* general of great reputation, who, putting himself at the head of some troops, ravaged the territories of *Pisa*, and advanced almost to the gates of that city; and thus the *Florentines*, in the spring, found themselves oppressed by the confederate army on the side of *Sienna*, and by *S. Severino* on that of *Pisa*. It was, at the same time, with the utmost difficulty that they could keep the *Lucqueses* faithful to their engagements. But the *Venetians* having lately made peace with the *Turks*, the *Florentines* took into their pay *Charles*, *Braccio's* son,

Death of
Charles
Braccio.

Pro-
ph-
et-
ic
Cal-
abria.

A truce for
three
months.

son, and count *Deiphobo*, *Jacob Piccinino's* son. Those two generals, bringing with them a body of mercenaries, forced *S. Severino* to desist from his attempt upon *Pisa*, and recovered all the places he had seized. But the animosities which had subsisted between their grandfathers broke out afresh, which obliged the *Florentines* to put them upon separate services. The body under *Deiphobo* remained at *Poggiobonzi*; that under *Charles* marched against *Perugia*; while *Nicholas Vitelli*, with the third party, attempted to retake *Citta di Castello*. *Charles* died in the career of his victories and successes, and was succeeded by *Robert of Rimini*; and all that *Vitelli* could do was to spoil the open country about *Citta di Castello*. The death of *Charles* gave such spirits to the pope's army, that they attacked that under *Robert* near the lake of *Perugia*, anciently that of *Thrasymene*, (on the very spot where *Hannibal* beat the *Roman* army under *Flaminius*) but were defeated. This advantage was counterbalanced by a mutiny of their troops at *Poggiobonzi*, which obliged the *Florentines* to dismiss the marquis of *Ferrara* from their service. Upon this, *Alphonso* duke of *Calabria*, *Ferdinand's* eldest son, attacked and totally routed their army, which left all their ammunition, carriages, artillery, and baggage, a prey to the enemy; for, as *Machiavel*^b observes, in those days the motion of one horse, either to retreat or charge, gave defeat or victory. A pestilence, which at that time raged in *Florence*, had driven most of its inhabitants into the country; while the council of ten was obliged to recal the army under *Robert*, which was then besieging *Perugia*, to the defence of their capital; and it encamped at *S. Cassiano*, within eighteen miles of *Florence*. This gave the duke of *Calabria* an opportunity of extending his conquests on the side of *Sienna*. He took *Poggiobonzi*, *Vico*, and *Certaldo*; and laid siege to the strong castle of *Colle*, which, notwithstanding all the efforts of the *Florentine* army to relieve it, yielded on the 13th of *November*; on which both armies went into winter-quarters.

THE state of affairs in *Italy*, at this time, induced the pope and the king of *Naples* to offer the *Florentines* a truce for three months, which was accepted. This respite enabled the *Florentines* the more coolly to reflect on their own disagreeable situation. They perceived they had nothing to trust to, either from *Venice* or *Milan*; and that their victorious enemies would probably, next year, be at the gates of their city. Each blamed the other: but the great charge of misconduct lay against *Lorenzo de Medici*; and one of the *Florentines*, in a

^b MACHIAVEL, book viii.

public assembly, bluntly told him, that he must, *some way or other*, think of giving them peace. *Lorenzo*, one of the wisest patriots any state ever had, wanted no inducement to follow this counsel; and after many deliberations with his friends, in which they resolved not to trust the pope, he came to the generous resolution of going in person to *Naples*, to treat of an accommodation. Leaving the charge of affairs in the city to *Thomas Soderini*, then gonfalonier of justice, he repaired, without any public character, and without acquainting the senate, to *Pisa*; from whence he sent them letters, informing them of his intention, which they answered by *Negotiation* sending him full powers to treat, as the ambassador of the *Loren-* people of *Florence*, with the *Neapolitan* king. The command-^{20.} ing presence of *Lorenzo*, the force of his reasoning and eloquence, and the openness of his manner, with a thousand other circumstances that characterise a great and wise man, did more than an age of negotiation could have effected. *Ferdinand*, now old and experienced in the arts of government, no sooner heard him speak of the interests of *Italy*, and of her several states and potentates, than he was brought over to his sentiments, and resolved, at any rate, to make him his friend. Notwithstanding this, *Ferdinand* could not lay aside his insidious habits. He protracted the negotiation, that he might see the turn which affairs might take in *Florence* during the absence of *Lorenzo*, who had many enemies there. But at last a league, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the king and the *Florentines*; and on the 6th of *March*, 1479, *Lorenzo* set out on his return to *Tuscany*.

THE amazing sagacity that gave rise to this negotiation, His high the abilities with which it was conducted, and the success that merit in attended it, form an extraordinary period in civil history, and concluding were worthy the genius of the first man in the *Florentine* state. *the same.* *Lorenzo* had the glory and satisfaction to see his labours rewarded by the gratitude of his country, in the reception he met with at his return, and in the extinction of party-spirit, which now centered in the admiration of his virtues. Two days after his arrival, the articles of the offensive and defensive league were proclaimed. By them the king was to dispose of the places he had taken from the *Florentines* as he pleased. The *Pazzi*, who had been imprisoned, were to be freed; and the duke of *Calabria* was to receive from the *Florentines* a subsidy for a certain time. The *Venetians* and the pope complained of the disrespect shewn them by this peace, as they neither had been invited to the negotiation, nor were they included in the terms. They expressed their resentment in such a manner, that the *Florentines*, to prevent the consequences,

quences, probably by *Lorenzo's* advice, constituted their supreme council of seventy citizens, who were invested with the highest powers in government. This council ratified the peace with *Ferdinand*, and nominated ambassadors to go to *Rome*; but they perceived, through various accidents, that they had still great difficulties to encounter.

Character of Lewis the Moor.

THE dukes of *Milan* had been obliged to resign that government to *Lewis the Moor*, so called from his swarthy complexion, brother to the late duke, one of the most extraordinary characters in history. Though politic and penetrating, he was irresolute and timid, and fear generally determined him to the most dangerous courses. *Serazana* was taken from the *Florentines* by *Fregoso the Genoese*, who made all the garrison prisoners; and, what was more afflicting than all to the *Florentines*, the duke of *Calabria* still lay on their confines with his army, and not only totally disclaimed the late peace, but endeavoured to possess *Sienna*, as the first step towards his becoming master of all *Tuscany*. It is difficult to say what the consequences might have been, had not the *Turks*, who had been repulsed before *Rhodes*, made a descent upon *Italy*, and, after ravaging the sea-coasts, taken *Otranto*, the most convenient port for them in all the kingdom of *Naples*, and fortified it, with a view of continuing their conquests. This alarming event delivered *Tuscany* from the duke of *Calabria's* ambition; for he was obliged to return with his army to *Naples*; and the pope now declared himself willing to treat of an accommodation with the *Florentines*, notwithstanding all the provocations he had received from them. They, on the other hand, not standing on forms where essentials were preserved, named twelve deputies to go to *Rome*; where, after a great variety of submissions on their part, and of haughtiness on that of his holiness, the pope gave them his benediction, and ratified the peace. Notwithstanding that, he insisted upon the *Florentines* maintaining fifteen armed galleys against the *Turks*. This demand, which the *Florentines* complained heavily of, was afterwards mitigated by the address of *Guido Antonio Vespucci*: and thus the *Florentines* were placed in a situation the most desirable of any they had known for many years.

Discontent of the duke of Calabria.

The Florentines reconciled to the pope.

A peace.

THEIR first care was to obtain restitution of the towns that had been taken from them by the duke of *Calabria*, and which had been left to the disposal of *Ferdinand*, but were now in the hands of the *Siennese*. *Ferdinand* was warmly plied by the *Florentines* to resist their importunities, because he might have thereby kindled a new war in *Italy*, which might have deprived him of the assistance he expected against

the Turks. The towns were restored; by which, says Machiavel^b, it appears, that neither treaties nor, but necessity, makes princes honest. Fortune thus seconding the virtues and abilities of Lorenzo, he was in his own country as great and glorious as a good citizen could wish to be; and even accidents were now construed as the effects of his policy.

THE surrender of *Otranto* soon after by the Turks, tho' ^{The pope} it quieted the fears, renewed the dissensions of the Italian defeats princes and states. The Venetians had pretensions upon the *Ferrarese*; and gaining the pope to their side, they made *S. Severino* their general. The Florentines placed *Constance*, the lord of *Pesaro*, at the head of their army, and that of the *Milanese* was commanded by *Frederick of Urbino*. The pope not having declared himself, *Ferdinand* ordered the duke of *Calabria* to demand a passage for his troops through his dominions, for the assistance of the marquis of *Ferrara*, which was denied. The Florentines joining with *Ferdinand*, considered this denial as a commencement of hostilities on the pope's part, and took the field against him. The duke of *Calabria's* troops, assisted by the family of *Colonna*, carried their incursions to the gates of *Rome*, and *Nicholas Vitelli*, by the assistance of the Florentines, recovered *Citta di Castello*, from the pope's governor. His holiness being thus straitened on every side, took into his pay *Robert of Rimini*, whose ^{the duke of} great reputation and experience gave so much spirit to the Romans, that they marched out of *Rome*, and obliged the duke of *Calabria* to come to a battle. The event was glorious for his holiness, or rather for his general. The battle was more bloody than any that had been fought in *Italy* for fifty years before, for almost one thousand men were killed on both sides; but at last the *Neapolitans* were entirely defeated, and the duke of *Calabria* himself must have been taken prisoner, had he not been saved by some Turks, who had entered into his service after the surrender of *Otranto*. A few days after, *Robert of Rimini*, who is stiled the *Magnificent*, died; and his holiness, to testify his gratitude to a general who had served him so faithfully, after giving him a magnificent burial, sent his nephew, count *Girolamo*, to deprive his infant son of his inheritance of *Rimini*. The Florentines, on this occasion, generously interposed in favour of the infant and his mother; and the pope was baffled by them, not only in that attempt, but in another that he had formed against *Citta di Castello*. The war all this while went on in

^c MACHIAVEL, book viii.

the *Ferrarese*, where the *Venetians* took *Figarola* from the marquis of *Ferrara*, and must have taken *Ferrara* itself, had not *Ferdinand* and the *Florentines* threatened the pope with the authority of a general council which the emperor had then convoked at *Basil*. His holiness, obliged to give way to necessity, at last sent ambassadors to *Naples*, where a league, or rather a truce, for five years was concluded upon, between him, *Ferdinand*, *Lewis the Moor*, and the *Florentines*, and the pope signified his pleasure to the *Venetians*, that they should desist from their war in *Ferrara*.

Alarming
power of
the Venetians.

THE *Venetians*, at that time, were so excessively powerful, as to become formidable to the other states of *Italy*. They defeated both the *Milanese* and the *Muscovite* troops, that had been sent to the assistance of the marquis of *Ferrara*, and were actually besieging *Ferrara* itself, when *Lorenzo de Medici*, the pope's legate, and the other allies of the *Florentines*, assembled at *Cremona*, to consult about doing something decisive against the *Venetians*. At first it was proposed, that *Lewis* should give them a diversion in their own country, which he declined doing; and then they resolved to march and attack the *Venetians* before *Ferrara*. It was, however, judged expedient to begin with destroying the *Venetian* fleet, which they effectually did. The land-army of the *Venetians* consisted of two thousand two hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot; that of the *Florentines*, and their allies, of four thousand men at arms, and eight thousand foot (B). The *Venetians*, not daunted with this great superiority of numbers, sent *S. Severino* across the *Adia*, where he proclaimed the young duke and his mother the sovereigns of *Milan*, under the walls of that city. This measure produced no commotion in *Milan*, and exasperated *Lewis* so much, that he now agreed to the diversion he had rejected before, and in

A league
against
them.

(B) It may be here necessary to explain one circumstance to the reader, which may have puzzled him in the course of this history, in which he sees the number of horse in armies commonly superior to those of foot. This was owing to the pride of the *Italian* noblemen and gentlemen, who generally served on horseback, and were themselves attended by a number of attendants on horseback, who were all of them reckoned

to be soldiers, tho' perhaps not above two or three hundred out of one thousand were properly armed for the field. But a distinction amongst the cavalry now prevailed. Men at arms were men completely armed, who served on horseback, and their attendants, who are called light horse, are seldom mentioned. This distinction, tho' new in *Italy*, was very ancient in *France*.

Conjunction with the duke of Calabria, he fell into the *Rogamase*, the *Bressan*, and the *Veronese*, where they destroyed all the open country, and it was with difficulty that *S. Gerardo*, the *Venetian* general, could prevent their becoming masters of the cities. This happened in the year 1484.

NOTHING now but dissension amongst themselves, could it have prevented the allies from driving the *Venetians* out of *Lombardy*. But the interests of the duke of Calabria and *Lewis the Moor*, became then incompatible. *John Galeazzo*, nephew to *Lewis* and the true duke of *Milan*, had married the duke of Calabria's daughter: and *Gonzaga*, the marquis of *Mantua*, who had always kept them in friendship, being now dead, the duke insisted upon *Lewis* putting his son-in-law in possession of his inheritance, hoping that as *Galeazzo* was but a weak prince, he himself would succeed *Lewis* as administrator of his duties. This demand made *Lewis* fall off from the confederacy, and throw him into the arms of the *Venetians*, with whom he made a peace in August 1484. By the articles of it, the *Venetians* were restored to the possession of all the towns taken from them, which had been put into the hands of *Lewis*, while they retained all they had taken from the marquis of *Ferrara*. It was in vain for the *Florentines* and their allies to remonstrate against this treaty. They stood in need of peace, and they were obliged to accede to it. In the mean while, the allies had agreed with his holiness to withdraw all assistance from *Vitelli*, who remained in possession of *Citta di Castello*, which was besieged by his forces: but they were defeated by *Vitelli*, with whom his holiness was obliged to come to a compromise. The pope then joined the *Ursini* against the *Colonnas*, who favoured the *Neapolitans*. But at last each party beat the other into peace, neither being able to continue the war.

THE *Florentines* all this time had employed *Antonio de The Flo-Marciano* to lie with some troops near *Serazana*, in hopes of retaking that city. Nothing however but slight skirmishes passed on either side. It may therefore be said, that all Italy was at this time in a state of tranquillity; a circumstance so disagreeable to his holiness, that it broke his heart. His death filled all *Rome* with uproar and blood, occasioned by the differences between the families of *Ursini* and *Colonna*, and count *Girolamo* possessed himself of the castle of *S. Angelo*, which may be considered as the citadel of *Rome*. He, however, being desirous to oblige the next pope, retired to his own estates; and cardinal *Cibo*, who took the name of *Innocent VIII.* succeeded to the popedom, and restored the tranquillity of *Rome*.

THE Florentines still continued very uneasy under the loss of *Serazana*, and the more so, as it had been taken from them by *Traverso*, a private *Genoese*. They therefore made vigorous negotiations for retaking it; upon which *Traverso* yielded up the possession of it to the proprietors of the bank of *St. George*, who then possessed almost all the territories belonging to the *Genoese*, without the walls of their city. By this cession the *Florentines* had no pretext for making war against the *Genoese* as a community; and they yet could have no hopes of succeeding in the recovery of *Serazana*, without taking *Pietra Santa*, a town belonging to the *Genoese*. That they might have a good colour for a breach, they ordered a great quantity of provisions, under a very slight guard, to be sent from *Pisa* to their army before *Serazana*, by the way of *Pietra Santa*. That garrison could not resist the bait: they sallied out, and easily became masters of the place. Upon this the *Florentine* army abandoned the siege of *Serazana*, and undertook that of *Pietra Santa*; and the war thus becoming general between them and the *Genoese*, the fleet of the latter took and burnt the fortress of *Vada*, and ravaged the territory of *Volterra*. Their ravages were repressed by *Buongianni Gianfigliuzzi*, a *Florentine* officer, who was sent with a party of horse against them. The *Genoese* navy, however, made an attempt upon *Leghorn*, a place which now began to make a figure in *Tuscany*, from whence it was repulsed with loss, though they had been at vast expence in engineering to reduce it.

and at last
take it.

THE siege of *Pietra Santa* still went on; but so remiss was the *Florentine* army in its discipline, that they were surprised by a sally from the besieged, and driven from their works to the distance of four miles from the town. There they deliberated about abandoning the siege, and retiring into winter quarters. This news coming to *Florence*, filled the whole city with indignation. *Antonio Pucci* and *Bernardo del Nero*, two of the most respectable citizens in *Florence*, were immediately dispatched with a large sum of money to remonstrate to the army, which it seems was numerous and well appointed. The shame of being baffled before so inconsiderable a place, joined to the good conduct of the new commissaries, especially *Antonio Pucci*, was so successful that the soldiers stormed the works they had lost before, but with the loss of their general *Marciano*; and the town itself, perceiving their resolution, proposed a capitulation. To give the more honour to the defence made by the besiegers, *Lorenzo de Medici* came in person to the *Florentine* camp; and in a few days after the castle, as well as the town, was surrendered. This siege cost

cost the *Florentines* some of their best troops and officers, and amongst the latter *Antonio Pucci*, who died through the unwholsome heats of the country during the autumn season.

THE *Lucchese* did not fail to claim from the *Florentines* *Pietra Santa*, a place that had formerly belonged to the *Genoese* state. The *Florentines*, without denying that fact, told *Lucchese* them, that before they gave it up, they must be satisfied for the vast loss of blood and treasure which the reduction of the place had cost them, and a treaty of peace being now set on foot by the pope, they were not sure whether they might not be obliged to restore the town to the *Genoese*. In those altercations the winter past, and all the next spring. *Lo:orenzo de Medici* was so afflicted with an hereditary gout, that he could do no business, and none could be done by the *Florentines* without him. This delayed the siege of *Scrazano*: and the ambition of the *Prince of Calabria* threw fresh obstacles in their way. The city of *Aquila* was so little dependent on the crown of *Naples*, that though it lay in that kingdom, it might be said to have been free. The duke of *Calabria* being in the neighbourhood with his troops, under pretence of business, trepanned the count of *Montorio*, who had the greatest sway in *Aquila*, into his power, and sent him prisoner to *Naples*, in hopes of reducing *Aquila* to an absolute subjection to that crown. The *Aquilians* upon this flew to arms, and not only put to death the king's commissary, and several of *Ferdinand's* friends in that city, but erected the papal banners, and invited the pope to take them under his protection. His holiness greedily accepted of the invitation; and taking into his pay *S. Severino*, who had been dismissed from the *Milanese* service, all the friends of count *Montorio*, and many of the *Neapolitan* barons, declared in his favour. *Ferdinand* applied to the *Florentines* for assistance; and tho' they were extremely averse from either entering into a war with the holy see, or prosecuting the advantages they had obtained over the *Genoese*, yet they sent an army to his assistance, by which *Alphonso* remained master of the field against his holiness, and all his other enemies. At last, the *Spaniards* offering their mediation, a peace was concluded, by which all *Italy* was once more restored to its tranquillity, the *Genoese* alone being excluded, for having shaken off the yoke of *Milan*, and detaining the *Florentine* possessions.

THE pacific quality with which the *Florentines* had fulfilled their engagements with *Ferdinand*, gave them vast credit with the pope, who, during the war with the *Neapolitans*, had been betrayed by his general *S. Severino*, and he publicly declared, that he would do every thing in his power to serve

and oblige them. This being reported to *Lorenzo de Medici*, he committed nothing that could cement or improve the growth of friendship, and actually gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Francis*, son to the pope, who had been married before he was exalted to the popedom. From that time the interests of *Florence* and the holy see became the same, as *Lorenzo* had agreed to every thing proposed for the advancement of his son-in-law in *Italy*. The pope, on the other hand, insisted strongly with the *Genoese* that they should restore *Serazana* to the *Florentines*, as holding it from an iniquitous title derived from *Fregoso*. The *Genoese* were so far from paying regard to the remonstrances of his holiness, that they fitted out a fleet of gallies, then landed three thousand foot at *Serazanella*, and after taking and plundering the town, and the neighbouring places, all which belonged to the *Florentines*, they planted artillery at the castle. This being done while a truce was subsisting by the pope's mediation, the *Florentines* complained loudly of it at *Rome*, but ordered their general *Virginio Orsini* at *Pisa*, to draw their troops together. They then sent ambassadors to require aid from their allies. But *Ferdinand* excused himself because of his war with the *Turks*, and *Lewis* of *Milan* trifled with them; so that they received none. Depending, therefore, on themselves alone, they appointed *James Guicciardini* and *Peter Vittori*, to command against the *Genoese*, who still pressed the citadel of *Serazanella*, and lay encamped on the river *Magra*. A battle quickly ensued, in which the *Genoese* were intirely defeated; and *Lorenzo de Medici* arriving in the *Florentine* camp, *Serazana* itself was besieged and taken, after an obstinate resistance, by the *Florentines*.

Serazana
taken.

Events
in Romagna.

DURING those transactions on the *Magra*, *Lewis Sforza*, under pretence of sending some troops to the assistance of the *Florentines*, sent them to support an insurrection which he privately procured to be made in *Genoa*, by which that city once more fell into the hands of the *Milanese*. About the same time the *Venetians* were defeated near *Trent* by the *Germans*, and their general *S. Severino* was killed. But the *Venetians* soon made a peace, by which they gained more than all they had lost by war. The connections between the pope and *Lorenzo de Medici* grew every day stronger; for the latter persuaded *Boccalino* of *Osimo*, in the marquissate of *Ancona*, to restore that town to his holiness, after making it rebel. *Boccalino* afterwards lived in splendour at *Florence*, from whence he removed to *Milan*, where he was put to death by *Lewis Sforza*. In the *Romagna*, *Francis del Orso* assassinated count *Giralamo* in his own house, and made his wife

wife and children prisoners, but could not master the citadel. The counsellors offered to prevail with the governor to surrender it, and the conspirators accordingly suffered her to enter it, detaining her children as pledges. But far from performing her promise, she threatened the governor and all the garrison with death if they did not make a vigorous defence, and slighted all the menaces of the conspirators against her children. This resolute conduct, and the approach of some troops to her assistance from *Milan*, made the conspirators fly with all their effects to *Citta di Castello*; but the countess pursued them and amply revenged her husband's death. The *Florentines* were no farther concerned in this incident, than as it gave them an opportunity of recovering the castle of *Piancaldoli*, which had been usurped from them by the count.

THE *Florentines* were more interested in another tragical event, but of a more different nature, which at the same time happened near *Forli*. *Waleotto*, lord of *Faenza*, was married to the daughter of *John Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, and by her had a son called *Astorre*. The lady conceived so intolerable an aversion to her husband, that she resolved to have him murdered, and she brought her father into the same unnatural design, in hopes of becoming master of *Faenza* after his son-in-law's death. She counterfeited sickness, and her husband coming to visit her, the assassins rushed out and slew him. Upon this, she took refuge with her son in the castle, while *Bentivoglio*, and one *Bergamino*, a *Milanese* officer, took possession of *Faenza*, where there happened to reside at the time *Antonio Boscoli*, a *Florentine* commissary. But while the state of affairs in *Faenza* was unsettled, the country people took arms, and breaking into the town killed *Bergamino*, made *Bentivoglio* prisoner, and recommended the government of the state, and young *Astorre*, to *Boscoli*. The *Florentines* readily undertook the charge, but set at liberty *Bentivoglio* and his daughter, who had continued blocked up in the citadel.

The *Florentines* become the administrators of *Faenza*.

FLORENCE was now at a very high pitch of happiness and prosperity. The *Venetians* were in no condition to hurt her; *Lewis Sforza* had no inclination, nor was it his interest. The pope and the king of *Naples* were her friends; and she might have been said to have possessed the ballance of power in *Italy*. Her people were rich, powerful, united, and flourishing in learning, arts, and sciences, beyond perhaps what any people ever were, excepting the *Athenians*. All this prosperity was owing to the wisdom and virtue of a private citizen, *Lorenzo de Medici*. For some years the tranquillity of his country was such, that it afforded no events pro-

per for history to record, unless we mention as such, the prodigious encouragement given by the *Florentines*, after *Lorenzo's* example, to men of learning and genius, who filled their century during this happy interval with writings and works, that will ever be the admiration of mankind. *Lorenzo* however, though honoured with the appellation of the father of the muses, did not forget his own family. He married his eldest son to *Alphonsina*, daughter to the chevalier *Orsini*. Though his second son *John*, afterwards the famous pope *Leo X.* was not above thirteen years of age, yet he procured for him the dignity of cardinal; but his third son was too young for any provision. He had four daughters; one of them was married to *James Salutati*, one to *Francis Cibo*, a third to *Peter Ridolphi*, all of them of great houses; and he would have given the fourth in marriage to *James Medici*, had she not died.

SUCH was the happy state of *Florence* and undisturbed family in 1492, when *Lorenzo de Medici*, worn out by a complication of distempers which settled in his stomach, died, aged no more than forty-four years. For his character we must, in a great measure, refer to those we have drawn of his illustrious predecessors, whom he resembled in all their public and private virtues; but he seems, in progress of time, to have exceeded them in personal accomplishments. He owed, as we have seen, his life to his valour, and he had a turn for military affairs, which was of infinite service to his country, though peace was the darling object of all his measures. The commerce of *Europe* began, during his time, to run into new channels, and more expensive manners prevailing in life. *Lorenzo* found that he was imposed upon by his factors, who lived like princes, and he therefore narrowed his mercantile dealings, and laid out the money he was master of in territorial acquisitions, within the state of *Florence*, as being the most likely to give permanency to his family. He not only loved and rewarded, above any prince of his age, the fine arts, but practised them in his own person. According to *Machiavel*, compositions of his are still extant, that prove him to have been both a poet and a critic. He was a good judge of architecture, which in his time was commonly combined with painting, and of music. He founded the university of *Pisa*, to which he brought the most learned and ingenious men in *Italy*. He built near to *Florence* a monastery for father *Meriano*, who was an excellent preacher.

Death and
character
of *Loren-
zo de Me-
dici*,

He is said to have been more amorous than was consistent with the strict practice of virtue, and like *Scipio*, *Lelius*, and other

other great men of antiquity, to have unbent his more serious hours with juvenile recreations; so that two souls seemed to reside in his body, for he sometimes made himself care of his own children. Though he had no opinion of distant conquests, yet he fortified *Florence* against invasion from abroad, not only by adding to the strength as well as the beauty of the city, but by putting his friends into the government of those states and places, that were in a manner the keys of the republic. He kept in his own hands the administration of *Faenza*; and, by his interest, the *Baglioni* governed in *Perugia*, and the *Vielli* in *Citta di Castello*. To amuse his busy pragmatistical countrymen, as well as to render *Florence* more populous and frequented, he was perpetually exhibiting public juffs, tournaments, plays, entertainments, and other diversions, which had a wonderful effect upon the minds of those people, and reconciled them, in a great measure, to that which they were naturally so jealous. As *Italy* was then the country of learned princes and nobility, *Florence* and *Lorenzo* became the residence of all who cultivated, practised, or studied the fine arts: and the famous *Pico*, count of *Mirandola*, after travelling through all *Europe*, chose to fix there.

LORENZO's fortune, in some respects, was equal to his merit. Several attempts, besides that of the *Pazzi*, were made upon his life; but all of them were defeated, and the assassins punished. The most distant princes were struck with reverence and esteem for his person and virtues; witness the correspondence he kept up with *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, the ambassadors and presents he received from the reigning emperors of the *Turks*, one of whom delivered up to him the murderer of his brother *Bernardo Bandini*, who had taken refuge amongst the infidels. His palace was the center of unity for all *Italy*; and by his wonderful address, he brought it to a state of tranquillity, which it had not known for some ages before. Upon his death, all the *Italian* states and princes sent compliments of condolence by their ambassadors to *Florence*.

By the death of *Lorenzo de Medici*, which was succeeded by that of pope *Innocent VIII.* the ballance of power in *Italy* by his son was again destroyed. *Lorenzo* was succeeded by his son *Peter*; but he was far from being qualified, either by age or abilities, for maintaining his father's system. Both his wife and mother were of the *Orsini* family, and he resigned himself intirely to the direction of his kinsman *Virginio Orsini*, who persuaded him to strengthen his connections with the court of *Naples*; a measure which gave such umbrage to

Lewis Sforza, that it produced the most dismal calamities to *Italy*.

INNOCENT VIII. was succeeded by *Roderigo Borgia*, a *Spaniard*, who called himself *Alexander VI.* a name that ever since has been another title for all manner of impiety, impurity, cruelty, and wickedness. He mounted the papal throne by open simony, and was even above the practice of hypocrisy in his vices. At the same time he was cunning and sagacious in finding out resources under all difficulties.

As the great strength of *Italy* now lay in an union, *Sforza* proposed that the ambassadors of all her princes should present themselves in one day, as the members of one body, to make their usual congratulations upon the pope's accession, and that one should harangue him in the name of all the rest. *Peter*, and the bishop of *Crezzo*, had been named ambassadors from the *Florentines*, and both of them designed to make a great figure; the former by the magnificence of his dress, equipages, and attendance; the other, by the speech he intended to make. They therefore privately prevailed on *Ferdinand*, who had approved of *Sforza's* scheme, to oppose it, which he did, but at the same time named his advisers. This increased *Sforza's* suspicions. *Cibo*, who was the natural son of the last pope, and brother-in-law to *Peter*, lived then at *Florence*, and was persuaded to sell the castles of *Anguillara*, *Geruvetri*, and some others, which he held in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to *Virginio Orsini*, whom they intended should be a bridle upon the pope. *Alexander*, who had destined the crown of *Naples* for one of his own family, declared that the bargain was null, because those castles were fiefs of the holy see; and he was backed in his resentments by *Sforza*, who remonstrated to *Peter de' Medici* the impolitic step he had taken, and pressed *Ferdinand* to compromise matters with his holiness. Notwithstanding this, *Virginio* took possession of the castles, at the secret instigation of *Ferdinand* himself.

Peter differs with Sforza.

SFORZA was penetrating enough to perceive how strong the connections were between *Peter* and *Ferdinand*; and he endeavoured, but in vain, to break them, that he might preserve *Florence* still for his friend. He had usurped the power of his nephew, son-in-law to the duke of *Calabria*, who, with his daughter the dutchess of *Milan*, made no secret of their sentiments, and that the young prince and his family were in danger from the practices of his uncle. *Sforza*, at the same time, was sensible that he was hated by the people of *Milan*, and that the new alliance was necessary for his safety. He applied to the *Venetians*, who appeared cautious

and backward; and to the pope, whose haughty spirit had been exasperated by the court of *Naples* refusing to give their king's natural daughter in marriage to one of his sons, with a large territory in *Naples* for her portion. The *Venetians*, at last, perceiving the pope to be irreconcilable to *Ferdinand*, in 1499, came into the confederacy proposed by *Sforza*; the professed object of which was to dispossess *Virginio* of his acquisitions. *Peter de Medici* and the duke of *Cakbria* could easily, by the assistance of the *Colonnas* and the *Orsini*, have dashed this confederacy in pieces, had they not been restrained by the caution of old *Ferdinand*. In consideration of this, and of the uncertainty of the continuance of the friendship between the pope and the *Venetians*, and his own dangerous situation, *Sforza* had recourse to the desperate expedient of inviting *Charles VIII.* king of *France*, to invade the kingdom of *Naples*, under the title of the *Anjouvin* princes, which had been made over to him. This title, it must be acknowledged, was plausible. *Charles* was a weak, giddy, young prince, both in body and mind; but had ambition, and a courage that well suited with the proposed expedition, from which he was dissuaded by his ablest counsellors; but upon *Sforza's* promising to supply him with money, he undertook it.

In this negotiation it is hard to say which was most absurd, the conduct of *Charles*, or that of *Sforza*, who, blinded by his fears, invited the most powerful prince then in *Europe* into *Italy*. *Ferdinand* seemed to dissemble his apprehensions; but he was dreadfully alarmed. He endeavoured, by his ambassadors at the court of *France*, where they were treating of a match between his grand-daughter (who was cousin-german to *Charles*) and the young king of *Scotland*, to divert *Charles* from his resolution, by even offering *Charles* an annual subsidy. He endeavoured to compromise affairs with the pope, and to remove all *Sforza's* jealousies. He succeeded so far with the pope, that, after making great sacrifices both of honour and interest, the *Venetian* and *Milanese* troops, raised in consequence of the late treaty, were dismissed. By this time, *Sforza*, either from natural dissimulation, or inward conviction, expressed his apprehensions that he had gone too far; and promised *Peter de Medici*, that he would prevent the consequences of the invasion. But it was now too late; for *Charles*, having taken all measures that could secure his success, by alliances and negotiations with the great powers of *Europe*, required from the *Florentine* ambassadors a categorical answer, whether their state would give his army a passage through their dominions; and, upon their evading the question,

tion, he threatened to banish all the *Florentine* merchants out of *France*, if it was not instantly answered.

PETER DE MEDICI, at first, endeavoured to bring *Ferdinand* to consent that he should yield to *Charles*; but *Ferdinand* remained inflexible on that head, and he died in the beginning of the year 1494. His son *Alphonso*, duke of *Calabria*, though possessed of all *Ferdinand's* faults of cruelty, oppression, and treachery, was inferior to him in address and temper. He perceived that the pope was exasperated by the difficulties he met with at home from the *Florentine* and *Neapolitan* factions, now in the *French* interest; but he brought him over, by making him a present of thirty thousand ducats and by providing in the most extravagant manner for his three sons, one of whom was the famous *Cæsar Borgia*. The *French* king, on the other hand, without minding the intrigues of *Italy*, intimated to the *Florentines*, and the other *Italian* states, his intention of marching towards *Naples*.

James, son to the regent of *Scotland*, was at the head of this embassy; and when the ambassadors came to *Florence*, they put both the *Florentines* and *Peter de Medici* in mind of the infinite obligations they lay under to the crown of *France*. *Peter* had hitherto had the address to avoid giving the *French* court any positive answer; but he found the *Florentines*, in general, very averse from taking upon themselves to oppose the *French* march. *Peter's* influence, however, was so great, that the ambassadors were dismissed without any positive answer.

Design of Peter. THAT excellent historian *Guicciardini*^a, informs us, as he says, from good authority, that *Peter* had formed a design, by *Alphonso's* assistance, of intirely changing the *Florentine* government, by making himself prince or duke of that city. It is certain, that his father had no favourable opinion of his son's capacity^b; and that about this time two of his near relations, *Lorenzo* and *Giovanni de Medici*, men of great property, had entered into a correspondence with the *French* king and *Sforza*, for taking from him his power in the state, where all public offices were filled up by his appointment, and no measure could be concluded without his approbation. The design was discovered; but all the censure the conspirators received was a slight confinement to their own houses, though it was with difficulty that *Peter* was restrained from taking a much severer revenge. This discovery served only to render him the more irreconcilable to *Sforza*, whom he considered as author of the plot, and confirmed him the more in the

Conspiracy against him detected.

^a GUICCIARDINI, book i. ^b Annotatione in margine, fatte da Thomaso Poicacchi. GUICCIARDINI, libro primo.

measures he had proposed. A peremptory but a plausible answer was now sent to the *French* ambassadors, setting forth the inability the state of *Florence* was under of complying with the king's demands, without violating her most sacred engagements, which obliged them to defend the kingdom of *Naples* against any person that should invade it. This answer being intimated to *Charles*, he ordered the *Florentine* ambassadors immediately to quit his dominions; but, to shew that his resentment was chiefly levelled against *Peter*, he gave leave for all their merchants to remain in his dominions, excepting those who were factors or agents for him.

THE invasion of *Italy* by *Charles* is one of the most shining events in modern history. But we shall confine our narrative to the share which the *Florentines* had in it. Neither they nor the pope had yet openly broken with *Sforza*; and they were so cautious, that they even refused to admit *Alphonso's* galleys into the harbour of *Leghorn*. After this, *Alphonso* and the pope, on the 13th of *July*, had an interview at *Vico Varo*, in which the operations of the war were settled, in case that *Charles* should execute his threats of invading *Italy*. *Alphonso* at that time had a noble fleet, with which he endeavoured to make an impression upon *Genoa*; but the design was defeated by the vigilance of the *French* in that city. The duke of *Calabria*, *Alphonso's* son, a young prince of great hopes, marched at the head of an army into the *Romagna*, where the *Florentine* interest was very strong. *Astorre Manfredi*, the prince of *Faenza*, was directed by them; but *Caterina Sforza*, mother of *Ottaviano Riverio*, lord of *Imola* and *Forli*, refused to expose her son's territories, unless the *Florentines* would declare themselves, and indemnify him for all he might suffer in the war. This difficulty put a stop to all the operations that had been concerted; and it now appeared, that there was in the *Florentine* senate a party against breaking with the *French*, which *Peter* durst not venture of himself to encounter. To remove his apprehensions, the duke of *Calabria*, in an interview he had with him at *Borgo San Sepulcro*, offered him, in his father's name, to employ his army as he (*Peter*) should direct. This elated *Peter* so much, that, returning to *Florence*, he obtained, against the sense of his wisest countrymen, leave from the republic, which was to defray all expences, to take *Ottaviano's* towns under the protection of the allies. *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, of *Bologna*, entered into the service of the allies upon much the same terms.

THE success of those negotiations might have been attended with the reduction of the *Milanese*, had it not been for the unaccountable slowness of the *Neapolitans*, or the *Aragonians*, *Peter* favoured the reduction of the *Milanese*, had it not been for the unaccountable slowness of the *Neapolitans*, or the *Aragonians*.

ragonians, as they were called, which gave an opportunity for *d'Aubigny*, the *French* general, to march with am-
 bition into the territory of *Imola*, before the duke's army had
 quitted *Cesena*; and thus the operations of the *Neapolitans*
 were confined to the *Romagna*, where the *French* and *Milanese*
 lived in great opulence. All this did not discourage *Peter de*
Medici, who now declared himself openly against the *French*.
 He admitted the *Neapolitan* galleys to anchor and victual in
 the port of *Leghorn*, and to raise recruits all over the *Floren-*
tine state. He sent one thousand men and some artillery to
Ferdinand's army, which, by his order, was now joined by the
 troops under *Bentivoglio* and *Astorre*. We are, however,
 given to understand that those steps, taken by *Peter*, were far
 from being agreeable to the sense of the *Florentine* senate;
 nor did their ambassadors at *Venice* with any vigour second the
 warm but vain instances made by those of the pope, to in-
 duce that republic to join the league; the heads of which, at
 this time, applied for assistance even to *Bajazet*, the emperor
 of the *Turks*.

Conduct of
 Sforza.

It is probable, that *Sforza* would willingly have restrain-
 ed the vivacity of the *French*, who were making prodigious
 preparations for invading *Italy*; but the allies, instead of en-
 couraging those sentiments in him, and bringing him over to
 a common league with all the other states of *Italy*, by their
 conduct rendered him desperate. His minister at *Florence* had
 strenuously endeavoured to persuade *Peter*, by all means, to
 continue inviolably attached to his league with *Alphonso*; and
Peter, by *Alphonso's* advice, disclosed to *Charles* all that passed
 between him and *Sforza's* ambassador on that head. He even
 went so far as, under pretence of sickness, to give that am-
 bassador audience in his own bed-chamber, where he had con-
 cealed the *French* minister, who overheard all that had passed
 between him and *Sforza's* ambassador, who strongly insisted
 on *Peter's* entering into engagements for opposing the *French*
 invasion, and for continuing in his league with *Alphonso*. This
 stratagem, though natural, had a different effect from what
Peter expected. When it became public in the *French* camp,
Sforza had address enough to persuade the king, that all he
 meant was for his service; and having now nothing to hope
 farther, from his intrigues, he applied himself in good earnest
 to forward the *French* expedition. *Charles* wanted no spur for
 that. He was then advanced so far as *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*;
 but destitute of every thing, but invincible obstinacy, for
 proceeding on the expedition. To raise money, he was
 obliged to pawn all the jewels of his crown and person. His
 subjects, in general, were averse to his proceeding farther;
 and

and even his generals, having such proofs of *Sforza's* irresolution, or treachery, were very backward in their obedience. But the inviolable attachment of the *French* for their monarch overcame all difficulties. The king, obstinate and determined as he was, seemed to be startled, and to waver, at hearing of the disaffection of his troops to the service, and on being disappointed of a sum of money he had expected from *Sforza*. But the cardinal of *S. Piero in Vincola*, the determined enemy of the pope and the *Florentines*, having resettled his resolution, he advanced to *Asi*, where he received news that the *Neapolitans* had been beaten by the duke of *Orleans* from *Rapalle*, and that *Genoa* was thereby secured in the *French* interest. In the *French* army, six thousand *Swiss*, then reckoned the best troops on the continent of *Europe*, served; and *Charles*, who, by falling ill of the small-pox, was detained a whole month, at last received from *Marseilles* a large supply of artillery, of a much more commodious construction, and far greater execution, than any which had been till then known in *Europe*. *Charles* having now entered *Italy*, affairs in the *Romagna* took an unfavourable turn for the pope and the *Florentines*, where many princes and states fell off from his and the *Florentine* interest. And though the duke of *Calabria* at first obtained many advantages over the *French* and *Milanese*, he was at last, through the treachery of those about his person, obliged to retreat, and to act on the defensive. *Charles* by this time was advanced to *Parma*, where he found his cousin-german *Galeazzo*, the true duke of *Milan*, on his death-bed, occasioned thro' poison administered by his uncle *Sforza*. But neither his languishing condition, nor the tears of his beautiful wife and infant son, who threw themselves at his feet for his protection against *Sforza*, could dissuade *Charles* from proceeding; and the duke dying some days after, *Sforza* was invested with the ensigns of the duke of *Milan*, in prejudice of his grand nephew, who was only five years of age. *Charles* was then at *Piacenza*; and neither he nor his court, abandoned as it was, could reflect without horror on the villainy and practices of *Sforza*.

* It is probable, that this horror, and *Sforza's* trifling with *He applies* his engagements, were so strong, that *Charles*, not being joined to the *Florentines*, as he expected by the *Italians*, would have repassed the *Alps*, had it not been for the encouragement he met with from the entreaties of *Peter de Medici*. *Lorenzo* and *John de Medici*, whom we have already mentioned, having broken out of their confinement, repaired to *Charles* at *Piacenza*, where they represented the unpopularity of *Peter*, and the affection the *Florentines* had for the *French*, in such colours as determined

Charles,

Charles, at all events, to proceed. *Charles*, however, was solicitous of gaining over the *Florentines*, that he sent them fresh ambassadors, offering them great advantages, if they would suffer him to proceed; and threatening them with the severest vengeance, if they obstructed his march.

THIS message had vast effects upon the minds of the *Florentine* people, who now saw themselves exposed to the wrath of a great king, merely through the imprudence of *Peter de Medici*. It was plain that *Charles*, had it not been for his resentment against *Peter*, might have marched to *Naples* without touching the *Florentine* territories; but he was determined to subject *Tuscany* before he proceeded, and he marched by the way of *Parma*, at the instances of *Sforza*, to whom he was now reconciled, and who wanted to become master of *Pisa*. His army being strengthened by the junction of the *Swiss* from *Genoa*, he advanced victoriously, and took several places that belonged to the *Florentines* in the *Lunigiana*. The *Florentines*, or rather *Peter de Medici*, resolved to make their stand against him at *Serazana* and *Serazanella*, in a country where his army would find it difficult to procure subsistence if those places held out.

Peter submits to him, BUT the *French* carried on war in a manner that for many years had not been known in *Italy*. Each of their slightest skirmishes were attended with more bloodshed than had been for a century past lost in the greatest battles fought there. Their artillery was irresistible, and they put a garrison which opposed them to the sword. All those considerations dismayed *Peter de Medici*, who finding so strong a dislike to him in *Florence*, came to a resolution unworthy of his rank and family, which was that of throwing himself at the feet of the *French* king. All that can be alledged in favour of *Peter* for this dastardly resolution, was the inability of the courts of *Rome* and *Naples* to support him, joined to the fresh resentments of his fellow-citizens against him, occasioned by a new order issued by the *French* for all the *Florentine* merchants, without distinction, to evacuate their dominions. While *Peter* was preparing for his journey, a detachment of *Florentine* horse and foot, under *Paul Orsini*, marching to reinforce the garrison of *Serazana*, was cut in pieces by the *French*. Being admitted, with some difficulty, to the presence of *Charles*, whose army lay before *Serazanella*, and in the utmost distress, he agreed, in the most abject manner, to more than was required of him. He immediately gave up *Serazana*, *Serazanella*, *Pietra Santa*, and the citadels of *Pisa* and *Leghorn* to the *French*; that king engaging, by an instrument, to restore them as soon as he should be seated on the

the throne of Naples; and that the *Florentines* should pay for the French protection and friendship two hundred thousand florins. (A).

PETER's concessions secured all *Tuscany* to the king, and he passed his way into the *Romagna*, where the duke of *Castellabria* was entrenched within the strong lines of a camp near *Faenza*, which were, with a great deal of bloodshed, forced by the *French*. The *Florentines* now submitted to *Charles*; and the duke, not knowing whom to trust to, was obliged to retire with precipitation under the walls of *Cesena*, and from thence towards *Rome*; so that the *Neapolitan* affairs began now to wear a very gloomy aspect. It was plain, that the unexpected progress of the *French* in *Italy*, was owing to the pusillanimity of *Peter de Medici*; and the magistrates of *Florence* sent some of his most determined enemies as their ambassadors to the king. Upon this *Peter*, under pretence of executing his late engagements with *Charles*, repaired to *Florence*, where his best friends looked coldly upon him; and he was not only denied admittance into the palace of the republic, but proclaimed a rebel, together with his two brothers; and they all three fled to *Bologna*, where they were received by *Estimanglio* with the most bitter reproaches upon *Peter's* misconduct and cowardice.

UPON this revolution of the *Florentine* state, the *Pisans* revolted of applied to the king, beseeching him to deliver them from the oppressive yoke of the *Florentines*, which, contrary to his agreement, he promised to do. Upon this the people pulled down the *Florentine* standards; and the king, sensible of his mistake, ordered the *Florentine* magistrates to continue in their places; but took possession of the new citadel, leaving the old one, which was of small importance to the *Pisans*, to the great disappointment of *Sforza*, who was in hopes of being put into possession of *Pisa*.

CHARLES was then at *Pisa*; and sending for *d'Aubigny* Charles to join him, he proceeded towards *Florence*, which he entered in the midst of his guards and army as a conqueror, with his beaver up, and his lance erect. This terrible array, depressed and divided as the *Florentines* were, did not dispirit them. *Charles* had again and again declared, that he ex-

(A) *Sforza* arrived in the French camp next day, and *Peter* told him that he had wanted to meet him, but that he had missed him, because, he supposed, he had taken a wrong road, "One of us, replied *Sforza* with a sneer, I believe has."

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decided to be put into possession of the sovereignty of that re-
 public; and finding the *Florentines* obstinate on that head,
 he dispatched messengers to *Bologna*, to recal *Peter de Medici*,
 who, by that time, had precipitately fled to *Venice*. But the
Florentines were resolved to live or to die free. They called
 all their soldiers and subjects into their capital; and the word
 was given, that the moment the great bell was tolled, all
 should run to arms. It is more than probable that *Charles*
 came to the knowledge of this desperate resolution; for he
 had every motive that could induce him to prosecute his de-
 mands, which he at last receded from, on condition that
 the *Florentines* would suffer his deputies, under the deno-
 mination of men of the long robe, to remain in *Florence*,
 a kind of jurisdiction; but the *Florentines* continued insi-
 stent even on that head. It was now every moment ex-
 pected that *Florence* must be deluged with blood; but the cal-
 was prevented by the unparalleled magnanimity of *Pi-*
 descendant of the famous *Neri de Capponi*. A day being
 for the last determination, when all parties were assembled
 in the king's presence, *Charles* ordered his secretary to read
 the terms that were to purchase *Florence* her safety. They
 were harsh and tyrannical; and the secretary had scarcely
 finished the paper, when *Pietro* started from his seat, snatched
 it from him, and tore it before the king's face. "Now,"
 "Sir, said he, sound your trumpets, and we will ring our
 "bells;" and then he left the room, attended by his com-
 panions. The *French* were no strangers to the wisdom and
 resolution of *Capponi*, who had resided in their court as the
Florentine ambassador. They were daunted by the boldness of
 his behaviour; and civilly desiring the deputies to return, a
 convention was made, by which *Florence* was to be the friend
 and confederate of *France*; and it was agreed that the citadels
 of *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, with *Pietra Santa*, *Serazana*, and *Seraza-*
nella, should be restored by *Charles* as soon as he was in
 possession of *Naples*, or as soon as he should return to *France*;
 but that in the mean time their revenues should accrue to
 the *Florentines*. The rebellion of the *Pisans* was to be for-
 given. The *Florentines* were to make no steps in the present
 war without previously acquainting two ambassadors the king
 was to leave behind him. The attainders of *Peter de Medici*,
 and his two brothers, were to be taken off; but *Peter* was
 not to come within one hundred miles of the borders of the
 republic; nor his two brothers within one hundred miles of
Florence. The *Florentines* were at li-
 of arms, all who rebelled against the

*Resolution
 of Cap-
 poni
 brings
 about a
 peace.*

